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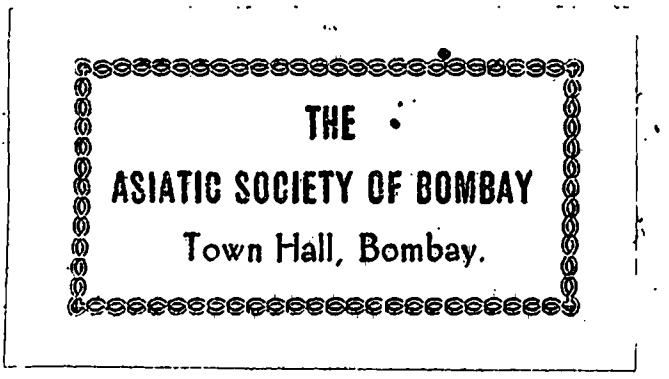

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(*Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.*)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER VI.

§ I. *The Russians take Oczakow.* § II. *Death of Gaston de Medicis, Duke of Tuscany.* § III. *Death of Caroline, Queen consort of England.* § IV. *Dispute in Parliament about the standing army.* § V. *Spanish depredations.* § VI. *Motives of the minister for avoiding a war.* § VII. *Address to the King on the subject of the depredations.* § VIII. *Bill for securing the trade of his Majesty's subjects in America.* § IX. *Debates in the House of Lords.* § X. *Birth of Prince George. Admiral Haddock sails with a squadron to the Mediterranean.* § XI. *Progress of the war against the Turks.* § XII. *Dispute and rupture between Hanover and Denmark.* § XIII. *Sir Robert Walpole extols the convention in the House of Commons.* § XIV. *Motion for an Address, that the representations, letters, &c. relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House.* § XV. *Petitions against the convention.* § XVI. *Substance of that agreement.*

§ XVII. *Debate in the House of Commons on the convention.* § XVIII. *Secession of the chief members in the opposition.* § XIX. *Debate in the House of Lords upon an address to his Majesty touching the convention.* § XX. *Message from the throne touching a subsidy to Denmark, and a power to augment the forces of the kingdom.* § XXI. *Parliament prorogued.* § XXII. *The King of Spain publishes a manifesto.* § XXIII. *The Emperor and Czarina conclude a peace with the Turks.* § XXIV. *Preparations for war in England.* § XXV. *Apology in the House of Commons for the seceding members.* § XXVI. *Pension-bill revived, and lost.* § XXVII. *Portobello taken by Admiral Vernon.* § XXVIII. *Hard frost.* § XXIX. *Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Hesse.* § XXX. *Strong armament sent to the West-Indies.* § XXXI. *Death of the Emperor and Czarina.* § XXXII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XXXIII. *Seamen's bill.* § XXXIV. *Discontents against the ministry.* § XXXV. *Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's councils and presence for ever.* § XXXVI. *Debate on the mutiny bill.* § XXXVII. *Proceedings in the House of Lords.* § XXXVIII. *Close of the last session of this Parliament.*

BOOK II.

1737. § I. A Congress had been opened at Niemerow in Poland, to compromise the differences between the Czarina and the Grand Signor: but this proving ineffectual, the Emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the Empress of Muscovy. It was agreed, that the Imperialists, under Count Seckendorf, should attack Widin in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by Count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow, on the Boristhenes. They accordingly advanced against this

this place, which was garrisoned by twenty thousand men; and on the side of the Boristhenes defended by eighteen gallies. The Muscovites carried on their approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in a few days capitulated. Among those who signalised themselves by uncommon marks of prowess in these attacks, was General Keith, now Field-marshal in the Prussian service, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion. Mean while Count Seckendorf, finding it impossible to reduce Widin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the eight-and-twentieth day of July; but this was the farthest verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the post which the Imperialists occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Wallachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had invested Bagnalack in Bosnia, was defeated, and obliged to repass the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna: and the command of the army devolved upon Count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Nissa was retaken by the Mussulmen. The conferences at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkish Plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople. CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ II. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus. Ferdinand, the old Duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonick order and the kingdom of Poland, while the States of Courland claimed a right of election, and sent deputies to Petersburg, imploring the protection of the Czarina. A body of Russian troops immediately entered that country; and the States elected the Count de Biron, High-Chamberlain to the Empress of Muscovy. The Elector of Cologn,

BOOK II. 1737.

as Grand-master of the Teutonick order, protested against this election; but the King of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzick with the commissaries of the new Duke and those of the Czarina. In the month of July, John Gaston de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the Prince de Craon took possession of his territories, in the name of the Duke Lorraine, to whom the Emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

§ III. In England, the attention of the publick was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The Princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the King and Queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-Court to the palace of St. James's when her labour-pains were supposed to be approaching: and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The King being apprised of this event, sent a message by the Earl of Essex to the Prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his Royal Highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the Queen. The Prince deprecated his Majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the Queen's mediation. The Princess joined her intreaties to those of his Royal Highness: but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual. The King, in another message sent by the Duke of Grafton, observed, that the Prince had removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his Majesty's residence, in expectation of her labour: and both times, on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the King and Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair: that at last, without giving any notice to their Majesties, he had precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton-Court, in a condition not to be named: that the whole

whole tenour of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so entirely void of all real duty to the King, that his Majesty had reason to be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to his Majesty and the Queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess. In obedience to this order the Prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his Majesty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his design in concealing so long from the King and Queen the pregnancy of the Princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his Majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct: though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the Queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification of her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a Princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ IV. The King opened the session of Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, with a short speech recommending the dispatch of the publick business with prudence and unanimity. Each House presented a warm address of condolence on the Queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Though the House of Commons unanimously sympathised with the King in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some

BOOK II. 1737.

some of his favourite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the dispute was renewed with surprising vivacity, and produced some reasons which had not been suggested before. The adherents of the minister fairly owned, that if the army should be disbanded, or even considerably reduced, they believed the Tory interest would prevail: that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and discontent, as well as to support the Whig interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for that purpose. The members in the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent. They said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the Whig interest was no more than an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and depended for support upon a military power, by which the people in general were overawed, and consequently enslaved. They affirmed, that the discontent of which the ministry complained was in a great measure owing to that very standing army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of Whig principles, and demonstrated that the party which distinguished itself by this appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which the Whigs were originally characterised. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who spoke with the courage and freedom of an old English Baron, declared,

declared, he never knew a member of that House, who acted on true Whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace: "I have heard of "Whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes "of credit: I have heard of Whigs who looked "upon corruption as the greatest curse that could "befal any nation: I have heard of Whigs who "esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most "valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial "Parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liber-"ties; and I have heard of a Whig administration "which has resented injuries done to the trade of "the nation, and revenged insults offered to the "British flag."—The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued. CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ V. Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The Captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity. Repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain, by the British Ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent

to

BOOK II. 1737.

to the Spanish Governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the continent of South America: though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda-costas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

§ VI. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages; the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatick, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration: The treasure which he now employed for domestick purposes, must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negociations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree, as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British Ambassador. But this apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the House of Bourbon were now united by politicks, as well as by consanguinity; and he did not doubt that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great-Britain. Petitions were delivered to the House by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring

ploring relief of the Parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole House; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the King, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced. CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ VII. The House, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great-Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and to the salt of Tortugas; he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negociations: he moved for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigour of a British Parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, they would cramp the ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negociations, entrench upon the King's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was reported; but the question being put for recommitting it; was carried in the negative. The House, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his Majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the court of Spain that his Majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonour of his crown, and to the ruin

BOOK II. 1737. ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the Catholick King should miscarry, the House would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the King made a favourable answer.

An. 1738. § VIII. The next important subject on which both sides exercised their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his Majesty's subjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of Queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors: while the Sovereign was empowered to grant commissions or charters to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavoured to evade the discussion of this bill, by amusing the House with other business, until an end should be put to the session. A mean artifice was practised with this view; and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire. Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection: but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavours, it was rejected upon a division.

§ IX. When the mutiny-bill was sent up to the House of Lords, a long debate arose upon the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs, in almost every nation of Europe, with great conciseness and precision. He demonstrated the improbability of a rup-

a rupture between Great-Britain and any power against which a land army could be of any service. He examined the domestick circumstances of the nation; and proved, that whatever discontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no disaffection, and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government. In answer to an argument, that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magistrate to execute the laws of his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances: he said, a law which the civil power was unable to execute, must either be in itself oppressive, or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expence. He observed, that before the Revolution, the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the publick charge; but now what was called the current expence, for which the Parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum; besides the civil list, the interest due to the publick creditors, and the sinking fund, which, added together, composed a burthen of six millions yearly. The Earl of Chesterfield, on the same subject, affirmed, that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are rivetted upon a free people. They may be secretly prepared by corruption; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By degrees a free people must be accustomed to be governed by an army: by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. England had for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence

CHAP. VI. 1738.

BOOK II. 1738.

pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power; and by degrees the number and strength of it have been increasing. At the accession of the late King it did not exceed six thousand: it soon amounted to double that number, which has been since augmented under various pretences. He therefore concluded, that slavery, under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees: if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favourite of a minister, terrifying the House with imaginary plots and invasions, and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, to show the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army, three times as numerous as the present. In spite of these suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same nobleman, assisted by Lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, which comprehended the same arguments that were used in the House of Commons. They met with the same success in both. Resolutions equivalent to those of the Lower House were taken: an address was presented; and his Majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain in order to obtain satisfaction and security for his subjects trading to America. This assurance was renewed in his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth of May, when the Parliament was prorogued.

§ X. At this period the Princess of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptised by the name of George, now King of Great-Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addresses of congratulation were presented to the King by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the Prince of Wales still laboured under the displeasure of his Majesty, who had ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to signify

signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the Prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. His Royal Highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, Rear-Admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negociation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all risques rather than forego it entirely; and so little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one half of that number were cast in the penalty of one hundred pounds: and three thousand persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XI. The war maintained by the Emperor and the Czarina against the Ottoman Porte, had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined on account of his ill success of the last campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the Emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign: but in the mean time, Ragotski, Vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the House of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protec-

BOOK II.

1738.

tion of the Grand Signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set upon his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Usitz and Meadia, and undertook the siege of Orsova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the Imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, assisted by Count Konigsegg. The Turks, being reinforced, marched back, and attacked the Imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement. The Germans, notwithstanding this advantage, repassed the Danube; and then the infidels made themselves masters of Orsova, where they found a fine train of artillery, designed for the siege of Widin. By the conquest of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their gallies and vessels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Russians under General Count Munich obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and General Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea; but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovites in such a manner, by intercepting their provisions, and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

§ XII. In the month of October, an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by assault the castle of Steinhorst, belonging to the Privy Counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both sides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed, and conducted to the frontiers. This petty dispute, about a small territory which did not yield the value of one thousand pounds a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great-Britain must

have maintained: but this dispute was compromised by a convention between the Kings of England and Denmark.

§ XIII. The session of Parliament was opened on the first day of February, when the King in his speech to both Houses, gave them to understand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the King of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses, by certain stipulated payments: the Plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great-Britain in the American seas: and for settling all matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an address of approbation was disputed as usual. Though the convention was not yet laid before the House, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the opposition. Sir William Wyndham observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by the Parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands; if they had discovered a resolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the sense of Parliament, either a defensive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worst would have been known: but, by what appeared from his Majesty's speech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He supposed the minister had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained: that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interest: that this peace was attended with

BOOK II. 1738.

with all the advantages that the most successful arms could have procured: that future ages would consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was ready to do; and which, he believed, the present age, when rightly informed, would not refuse. In a word, he extolled his own convention with the most extravagant encomiums.

§ XIV. The House resolved to address the King, that copies of all the memorials, representations, letters, and papers, presented to his Majesty, or his Secretary of State, relating to depredations, should be submitted to the perusal of the House: but some members in the opposition were not contented with this resolution. Then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed the "Motion-maker," moved for an address, desiring that the House might inspect all letters written, and instructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commissioners of the Admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majesty's ships of war, or his Majesty's Minister at the Court of Spain, or any of his Majesty's Consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the losses which the British subjects had sustained by means of depredations committed by the subjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unreasonable proposal, suggested by the spirit of animosity and faction. Mr. H. Walpole justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would discover to the Court of Spain the *ultimatum* of the King's demands and concessions, and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery made. He said, that so soon as the differences betwixt the two Courts should arrive at such a crisis, and

and not before the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no Government could act either in external or domestick affairs with proper influence, dignity, and dispatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negociation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his Majesty would give directions for laying before the House copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the King of Spain or to his Ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed in the negative. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XV. The House, in a committee of supply, voted twelve thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The Commons likewise ordered an address to his Majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great-Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. These were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the House. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the Commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and the others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and owners of sundry ships which had been seized by the Spaniards,

BOOK II. 1738.

offered petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right: for they insisted that the differences which has arisen concerning it should be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be discussed by them without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during the time that the discussion of this affair might last. They, therefore, prayed that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to represent the great importance of the British trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indisputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited, or searched by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to Great-Britain from that trade, if a search of British ships sailing to and from their own plantations should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in a state of uncertainty. These petitions were referred to the committee appointed to consider of the convention. Another remonstrance was likewise presented by the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, setting forth, that the King of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of Plenipotentiaries; so that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the Crown of Great-Britain, was left in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation. It was moved that the merchants should be heard by their counsel: but the proposal was strenuously opposed

opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division. CHAP. VI.

1738.

§ XVI. This famous convention concluded at the Pardo on the fourteenth day of January, imported, that within six weeks, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two Crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: That the Plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: That in the mean time no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his Catholick Majesty should pay to the King of Great-Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great-Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: That this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain: That this reciprocal discharge, however, should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the Assiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other; or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively: That his Catholick Majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders

BOOK II. 1738.

of Great-Britain, excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

§ XVII. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the House of Commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute; on the day appointed for considering the convention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole House, certain West-India merchants and planters were heard against the convention: so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers, and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March, Mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his Majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembrokeshire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He who first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his Royal Highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important trancaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release. They had not allowed the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spanish pirate who had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins*, and

* Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant ship. He was boarded by the Captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they called contraband commodities, without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives. They tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer; they tortured him with the most shocking cruelty,

and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the King—an expression which no British subject should decently repeat—an expression which no man that had a regard for his Sovereign could ever forgive—even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great-Britain; of the triumphant haughtiness and stubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and sarcastick orators in the House, stated in this manner the account of the satisfaction obtained from the Court of Spain by the convention: the losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds; the Commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thousand pounds; then forty-five thousand were struck off for prompt payment: he next allotted sixty thousand pounds as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply satisfied on that head: these deductions reduced the balance to ninety-five thousand pounds; but the King of Spain insisted upon the South-Sea Company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though, in other ar-

cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and being asked by a member what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians? "I recommended my soul to God," said he, "and my cause "to my country." The behaviour of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and Sovereign of Great-Britain, filled the whole House with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the service of the East-India company; he approved himself worthy of his good fortune in a long engagement with the pirate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and saved his own ship, with three others that were under his convoy.

ticles,

BOOK II. 1738.

ticles, his Catholick Majesty was indebted to the Company a million over and above the demand: The remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed seven-and-twenty thousand pounds, from which she insisted upon deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the St. Theresa, a Spanish ship which had been seized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to Great-Britain. He said the great national objection, the searching of British ships, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed: on the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions of Parliament; were now referred to the discussion of Plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. This undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, that right was, by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed: for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. H. Walpole. "After he had used "many arguments to persuade us to peace (said he) "to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the "dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to "be such as he represents them; he crowned all "those terrors with the name of the Pretender. It "would be the cause of the Pretender. The Pre-"tender would come. Is the honourable gentle-"man sensible what this language imports? The

"people of England complain of the greatest wrongs "and indignities: they complain of the interrup- "tion, the destruction of their trade: they think "the peace has left them in a worse condition than "before: and in answer to all these complaints, "what are they told? Why, that their continuing "to suffer all this, is the price they must pay to "keep the King and his family on the throne of "these realms. If this were true, it ought not to "be owned: but it is far from truth; the very re- "verse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; "nothing shake the establishment, but such mea- "sures as these, and such language as this." He affirmed that if the ministers had proceeded conformably to the intentions of Parliament, they would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched as a preliminary, *sine qua non*, to our treating at all. Instead of this, they had referred it to Plenipotentiaries. "Would you, "Sir, (said he) submit to a reference, whether you "may travel unmolested from your house in town "to your house in the country? Your right is clear "and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? "but much less would you refer it, if two of your "judges belonged to a gang which has often stopped "and robbed you in your way thither before."— The ministers, in vindication of the convention, asserted, that the satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all causes of complaint; that war was always expensive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture with Great-Britain: that there was not one power in Europe upon which the English could depend for effectual assistance; and that war would favour the cause and designs of a popish Pretender. The House

upon

BOOK II. upon a division, agreed to the address; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures, and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

1738.

§ XVIII. Then Sir William Wyndham, standing up, made a pathetick remonstrance upon this determination. "This address (said he) is intended "to convince mankind, that the treaty under our "consideration is a reasonable and an honourable "treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight in such "a full House should fail of that success; if the "people should not implicitly resign their reason "to a vote of this House, what will be the conse-"quence? Will not the Parliament lose its au-"thority? Will it not be thought, that even in the "Parliament we are governed by a faction? and "what the consequence of this may be, I leave to "those gentlemen to consider, who are now to give "their vote for this address: for my own part, I will "trouble you with no more, but with these my last "words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has "so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, "that he will graciously continue his protection "over them, by preserving us from that impending "danger which threatens the nation from without, "and likewise from that impending danger which "threatens our constitution from within." The "minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse. He declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents had been looked upon as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five years

years before conspired the destruction of their country and of the Royal Family, in order to set a Popish Pretender upon the throne; that he was seized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he had ungratefully made of that clemency, was to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party might some time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expressed his hope, that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present happy establishment. To such a degree of mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that the most eminent members of the minority actually retired from Parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XIX. The dispute occasioned by the convention in the House of Lords, was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been considered, Lord Carteret suggested, that possibly one of the contracting powers had presented a protest or declaration, importing that she acceded to such or such a measure, only upon condition that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good. He said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist in the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself, or communicate to their Lordships any light which might be necessary for that purpose. The adherents to the ministry endeavoured to evade his curiosity in this particular, by general assertions: but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry produced the copy of a declaration made by the King of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying that his Catholick Majesty reserved to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the assiento of negroes, in case the company should

BOOK II.

1738.

should not pay within a short time the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship Caroline; That under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, Lord Carteret displayed a surprising extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest indignation which the wrongs of his country had inspired. The Earl of Chesterfield attacked this inglorious measure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of satire. The Duke of Argyle, no longer a partisan of the ministry, inveighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Hervey, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Salisbury, and in particular by the Earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, artful, and enterprising, staunch to the minister, and invariably true to his own interest. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate: but ended as usual in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatised the treaty. The House agreed to an address, in which they thanked his Majesty for his gracious condescension in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing

complishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security: and preserving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his Royal Wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded, in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances of which the nation had so justly complained: They assured his Majesty, that, in case his just expectations should not be answered, the House would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his Majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of those who voted against the address we find the Prince of Wales. His example was followed by six Dukes, two and twenty Earls, four Viscounts, eighteen Barons, four Bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen proxies. A spirited protest was entered and subscribed by nine-and-thirty Peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XX. A message having been delivered to the House from his Majesty, importing, That he had settled nine-and-thirty thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of the Royal Family: and desiring their Lordships would bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to make that provision good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, some Lords in the opposition observed that the next heir to the crown might look upon this settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the Royal Family was ever provided for by Parliament, except the eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision of a determinate sum of money paid by way of dowry. These objections were over-ruled; and the House complied with An. 1739.

BOOK II. 1739.

with his Majesty's request. Then the Duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his Majesty obliged himself to pay to the King of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of the Dane's furnishing to his Britannick Majesty a body of six thousand men when demanded. At the same time, his Grace delivered a message from the King, desiring the House would enable him to fulfil this engagement: and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another vehement dispute arose from this proposal. With respect to the treaty, Lord Carteret observed, that no use could be made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty, that they should not be used either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland: nay, should France join against the English, the Danes could not act against that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may be said, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or, if the interest of Britain was at all consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to those of France and Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the message with great vivacity. He said nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of modern date in England: that it was never heard of before the Revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was blessed with the present wise administration. He said,

said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should become a customary compliment from the Parliament to the crown at the end of every session, or as often as the minister might think fit to desire it, Parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people: then a proclamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and happy would it be for the nation if that should be sufficient; for when a Parliament ceases to be a check upon ministers, it becomes an useless and unnecessary burthen on the people. The representatives must always be paid some way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and surely by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these must come out of the pockets of the people. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Chesterfield enlarged upon the same topicks. Nevertheless, the House complied with the message: and presented an address, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured his Majesty they would concur with his measures, and support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as he should think necessary for the honour, interest, and safety of these kingdoms. CHAP. VI. 1739.

§. XXI. The same message being communicated to the Commons, they voted seventy thousand five hundred and eighty-three pounds, for the subsidy to Denmark, and five hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great-Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay the crown of Spain the sum of sixty thousand pounds in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the Commons inserted in a bill a clause, providing for this

BOOK II. 1739.

sum to be paid by the Parliament. When the bill was read in the House of Lords a motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to know, whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired. The Duke of Newcastle, by his Majesty's permission, acquainted the House that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to consider the state of the nation, when Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his Majesty, and an injustice to the nation: but, after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled by the majority. The minister, in order to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture: and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper restrictions: and the other making more effectual provisions for securing the duties laid upon the importation of foreign Sugars, Rum, and Melasses into Great-Britain, and his Majesty's plantations in America. The supplies being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified in every particular, the King closed the session with a speech on the fourteenth day of June, when the Chancellor in his Majesty's name prorogued the Parliament*.

§ XXII.

* Among the laws enacted in the course of this session was an act against gaming, which had become universal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove destructive of all morals, industry, and sentiment. Another bill passed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her discovering, for the benefit of the publick, a nostrum for the cure of persons afflicted with the stone; a medicine which has by no means answered the expectations of the legislature.

In the House of Lords complaint was made by Lord Delawar of a satire, intituled Manners, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which some characters

§ XXII. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards: a promotion was made of general-officers: the troops were augmented: a great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to Admiral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant ships outward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the Court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his Catholick Majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the King of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining that Admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the Assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at London in an indecent style, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds stipulated in the convention, by affirming that the British Court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds due to

CHAP. VI. 1739.

characters of distinction were severely lashed, in the true spirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into custody; but he having withdrawn himself, the resentment of the House fell upon R. Dodsley, the publisher of the work, who was committed to the usher of the Black-Rod, through Lord Carteret, the Earl of Abingdon, and Lord Talbot spoke in his behalf.

Spain

BOOK II. 1739.

Spain from the South-Sea Company, on the assiento for negroes. The French Ambassador at the Hague, declared that the King his master was obliged by treaties to assist his Catholick Majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked; he dissuaded the States-General from espousing the quarrel of Great-Britain; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannick Majesty with such succours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamoured; and the ministry, seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

§ XXIII. The events of war were still unfavourable to the Emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army upon Velt-Mareschal Count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade; and advanced towards Crotska, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The Earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the Imperial army, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occasion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worsted at Jabouka; nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The Emperor, dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negociation for peace, which was transacted under the mediation of the French Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. The Count de Neuperg, as Imperial Plenipotentiary, signed

signed the preliminaries on the first day of September. They were ratified by the Emperor, though he pretended to be dissatisfied with the articles; and declared that his minister had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the House of Austria ceded to the Grand Signor, Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Wallachia, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two Empires. The Emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at all the courts in Europe, blaming Count Wallis for the bad success of the last campaign, and disowning the negociations of Count Neuperg; nay, these two officers were actually disgraced, and confined in different castles. This, however, was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the Czarina, who loudly complained, that the Emperor had concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Russian empire. Her General, Count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in which he found two hundred pieces of artillery: but the country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars, that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the winter. The Czarina, finding herself abandoned by the Emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honourable terms. After a short negociation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by which she was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

CHAP. VI. 1739.

§ XXIV. A rupture between Great-Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The English squadron in the Mediterranean had already made [illegible] of two rich Caracca ships. The King had issued orders for augmenting his land forces, and

BOOK II. 1739.

raising a body of marines: and a great number of ships of war were put in commission. Admiral Vernon had been sent to the West-Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas; and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamours of the people on this subject, sent him as commander in chief to the West-Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censor from the House of Commons; and, perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His Catholick Majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the King of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third day of October. Many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels; to protect their own commerce, as well as to distress that of the enemy. The session of Parliament was opened in November, when the

King,

King, in his speech to both Houses, declared, that he had augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power vested in him by Parliament for the security of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and he expressed his apprehension, that the heats and animosities, which had been industriously fomented throughout the kingdom, encouraged Spain to act in such a manner as rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to arms. In answer to this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses, without any considerable opposition. CHAP. VI. 1739.

§ XXV. The seceding members had again resumed their seats in the House of Commons; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary step which they had taken. He said, they thought that step was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters to posterity from the imputation of sitting in an assembly, where a determined majority gave a sanction to measures evidently to the disgrace of his Majesty and the nation. He observed, that their conduct was so fully justified by the declaration of war against Spain, that any further vindication would be superfluous; for every assertion contained in it had been almost in the same words insisted upon by those who opposed the convention: "Every sentence in it (added he) is an "echo of what was said in our reasonings against "that treaty: every positive truth which the de"claration lays down, was denied with the utmost "confidence by those who spoke for the convention; "and since that time, there has not one event hap"pened which was not then foreseen and foretold." He proposed, that in maintaining the war, the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies should be attacked; and that the ministry should not have the power to give up the conquests that might be made. He said he heartily wished, for his Majesty's honour and service, that no mention had been made of heats

BOOK II. 1739.

and animosities in the King's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address. He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his Majesty or the nation should suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the House: he affirmed, the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session, were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

§ XXVI. Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen. After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr. Sandys having observed that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men; proposed an address to the King; desiring that the body of marines should be composed of drafts from the old regiments: that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the House would recommend this method to his Majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependants, and extend their parliamentary interest, by granting a great number of commissions. The proposal was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an inquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention, but they were over-ruled. The pension bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham,

Mr.

Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttleton, that it made its way through the Commons to the Upper House, where it was again lost upon a division, after a very long debate. As the seamen of the kingdom expressed uncommon aversion to the service of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen, throughout his Majesty's dominions. Had this bill passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced to the most abject degree of slavery: had he removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his residence, he would have been deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly; he must have appeared, when summoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs: had he been incumbered with debt, he must either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by industry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the sense of fear or indigence. The bill was so vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the House rejected it on the second reading.

CHAP. VI. 1739.

§ XXVII. The King having by message communicated to the House his intention of disposing the Princess Mary in marriage to Prince Frederick of Hesse; and expressing his hope, that the Commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter, they unanimously resolved to grant forty thousand pounds for that purpose; and presented an address of thanks to his Majesty, for having communicated to the House this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ship arrived from the

BOOK II. 1739. the West-Indies, dispatched by Admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of Parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his Majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The Commons granted every thing the Crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight-and-twenty thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his Majesty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the subsidy to the King of Denmark; and they empowered their Sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his Majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund; in a word, the expence of the war, during the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the King thanked the Commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both Houses.

An. 1740. § XXVIII. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme,

treme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth; even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress; but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the publick charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed, in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

CHAP. VI. 1740.

§ XXIX. In the beginning of May the King of Great-Britain set out for Hanover, after having appointed a Regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the spousals of the Princess Mary were celebrated by proxy, the Duke of Cumberland representing the Prince of Hesse, and in June the Princess

BOOK II. 1740.

Princess embarked for the Continent. About the same time, a sloop arrived in England with dispatches from Admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conquest. This month was likewise marked by the death of his Prussian Majesty, a Prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities. He was succeeded on the throne by Frederick his eldest son, the late King of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as a warrior and legislator. In August, the King of Great-Britain concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with a body of six thousand men for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

§ XXX. Meanwhile, preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England. They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions. Three ships of war, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and took her after a very obstinate engagement: but the assogue ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English commanders, who were stationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on Hounslow-heath; and six thousand marines lately levied were encamped on the Isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West-Indies. Intelligence being received, that a strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlements, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to dispute their voyage; and the Duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition: but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greatest

part

part of the summer in Torbay: and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South-Sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centered chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his Catholick Majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantick. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North-America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital ships, and store-ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. Never was an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success.

CHAP. VI. 1740.

§ XXXI. On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, the last Prince of the House of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Though this Princess succeeded as Queen of Hungary, by virtue of the

BOOK II. 1740.

the pragmatick sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contests as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young King of Prussia was no sooner informed of the Emperor's death, than he entered Silesia at the head of twenty thousand men; seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and published a manifesto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatick sanction. The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the Archduchess as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging, that he himself had pretensions to those countries, as the descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the House of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his ally, the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her Crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her niece, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Branswick-Lunenbourg-Bevern. She appointed the Duke of Courland Regent of the Empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were alive: but this disposition was not long maintained.

§ XXXII. The King of Great-Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of Parliament was opened in November. His Majesty assured them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favour this supposition. He took notice of the Emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe: he therefore recommended to their consideration the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture that it should have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he desired them to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more

effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The Commons after having voted an address of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these necessaries. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland for the use of their own and of the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been laid upon the ships of that kingdom. The bill met with a vigorous oposition: yet the House unanimously resolved, that his Majesty should be addressed to lay an immediate embargo upon all ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef, pork, and other provisions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewise resolved, that the thanks of the House should be given to Vice-Admiral Vernon, for the services he had done to his King and country in the West-Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the House, and committed to prison, after having owned himself author of a paper, intituled, "Considerations upon the embargo on provision of victual." The performance contained many shrewd and severe animadversions upon the government, for having taken a step which, without answering the purpose of distressing the enemy, would prove a grievous discouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland. Notwithstanding the arguments used in this remonstrance, and several petitions that were presented against the corn-bill, it passed by mere dint of ministerial influence. The other party endeavoured by various motions, to set on foot an inquiry into the orders, letters, and instructions, which had been sent to Admiral Vernon and Admiral Haddock; but all such investigations were carefully avoided.

§ XXXIII.

BOOK II. 1740.

§ XXXIII. A very hot contest arose from a bill which the ministry brought in under the specious title of, A bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning his Majesty's fleet. This was a revival of the oppressive scheme which had been rejected in the former session; a scheme by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headboroughs, to search by day or night for such sea-faring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. Those searchers were vested with authority to force open doors, in case of resistance; and encouraged to this violence by reward for every seaman they should discover; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the Navy or the Admiralty-Office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured. Every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttleton, signalized themselves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow subjects. Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotick power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal sarcasms. He reflected upon his youth; and observed that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. These insinuations exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt standing up again, said, "He "would not undertake to determine whether youth "could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; "but he affirmed, that the wretch, who after having "seen the consequences of repeated errors, conti-"nues still to blunder, and whose age has only ad-"ded obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of "either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not

"that

" that his grey head should secure him from insults: CHAP. VI.
" much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has
" advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and 1740.
" becomes more wicked with less temptation; who
" prostitutes himself for money which he cannot
" enjoy; and spends the remains of his life in the
" ruin of his country."—Petitions were presented from the city of London, and county of Gloucester, against the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject: but they were both rejected as insults upon the House of Commons. After very long debates, maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

§. XXXIV. But the most remarkable incident of this session, was an open and personal attack upon the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and saw their burthens daily increasing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expensive squadrons had been equipped, had made excursions, and returned without striking a blow. The Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from Admiral Haddock, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the West-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed. Notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made prize of the British merchant ships with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connection which

BOOK II. 1740.

had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry, the King of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had sailed to the West Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended, by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ships, in all the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been so long repeated against the Minister, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents.

§ XXXV. The country-party in Parliament seized this opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sandys went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and told him, that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in publick. The Minister seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intimation: but, after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said he desired no favour, but fair play*. Mr. Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accusation, stood up, and in a studied speech entered into a long deduction of the minister's misconduct. He insisted upon the discontents of the nation, in consequence of the measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad. He professed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the House who did not know that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the

* Upon this occasion he misquoted Horace. "As I am not conscious of any crime (said he), I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence. *Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ.*" He was corrected by Mr. Pulteney; but insisted upon his being in the right, and actually laid a wager on the justness of his quotation.

sole

sole adviser and promoter of all those measures. CHAP. VI.
"This (added he) is known without doors, as well 1740.
"as within; therefore, the discontents, the re-
"proaches, and even the curses of the people, are
"all directed against that single person. They com-
"plain of present measures: they have suffered by
"past measures: they expect no redress; they expect
"no alteration or amendment, whilst he has a share
"in directing or advising our future administration.
"These, Sir, are the sentiments of the people in
"regard to that minister: these sentiments we are
"in honour and duty bound to represent to his Ma-
"jesty; and the proper method for doing this, as
"established by our constitution, is to address his
"Majesty to remove him from his councils." He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the minister's misconduct in the whole series of his negociations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to support his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotick government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the interest and honour of Great-Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to prosecute the war against Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an address to the King, that he would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. He was answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himself as a warm friend and unshaken adherent. Against this champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and was sustained by Mr. Pulteney, who, with equal spirit and precision, pointed out and exposed all the material errors and mal-practices of the administration. Sir Robert Walpole spoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himself. With respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been shown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either

BOOK II. 1740.

either House, or even threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in Parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted.—Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the court members till three o'clock in the morning, when about sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

§ XXXVI. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of insuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation: but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willimot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffick was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny-bill, relating to the quartering of soldiers upon inn-keepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which, however, was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the Czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russian company, by an act of Parliament. The Commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about thirty thousand men for the establishment of land-forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the King of Denmark and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was suggested

gested for the ease and the convenience of the government. CHAP. VI.

§ XXXVII. The parties in the House of Lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the Commons. The Duke of Argyle, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry. In the beginning of the session, the King's speech was no sooner reported by the Chancellor, than this nobleman stood up, and moved that a general address of thanks should be presented to his Majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the King's speech, re-echoed from the Parliament to the Throne, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister. He spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was supported by Lord Bathurst, Lord Carteret, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were out-voted by the opposite party, headed by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Harvey, and the Lord Chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an enquiry into orders and instructions which had miscarried in the Lower House, were here repeated with the same bad success: in the debates, which ensued, the young Earls of Hallifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and elocution with which they contended against the adherents of the ministry. When the House took into consideration the state of the army, the Duke of Argyle having harangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increasing the number of officers; as such an augmentation served only to 1740.

BOOK II. 1740.

debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the minister, by multiplying his dependents. He, therefore, moved for a resolution, that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, was also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This proposal was likewise over-ruled, after a short though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the Lords in the opposition, though the victory of the Courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by Lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his Majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. The speech that ushered in this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Cicero. It contained a retrospect of all the publick measures which had been pursued since the Revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the present administration. It described the political connections subsisting between the different Powers in Europe. It exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the iniquity of the Minister, both in his foreign and domestick transactions. It was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetorick, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriotick indignation. The Duke of Argyle, Lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervour, and even inspired, by the subject. A man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate, before the ruin of that republick. Nevertheless, the Minister still triumphed by dint of numbers; though his victory was dearly purchased. Thirty Peers entered a vigorous protest: and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition,

An. 1741.

that

that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the Duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of Parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject. It was seconded by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lovel; and opposed by Lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day. This sentiment was so warmly espoused by Lord Talbot, who had distinguished himself in the former debate, that he seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the Earl of Cholmondeley, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preserved in such an assembly. His passion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himself an independent Lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the smiles of a Court, the profit of an employment, or the reward of a pension: he said, when he was engaged on the side of truth, he would trample on the insolence that should command him to suppress his sentiments.—On a division, however, the motion was carried. CHAP. VI. 1741.

§ XXXVIII. In the beginning of April, the King repairing to the House of Peers, passed some acts that were ready for the Royal assent. Then, in his speech to both Houses, he gave them to understand, that the Queen of Hungary had made a requisition of the twelve thousand men stipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the subsidy-troops of Denmark and Hesse-Cassel to be in readiness to march to her assistance. He observed, that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, many incidents might arise, and render it necessary for him

BOOK II. 1741.

to incur extraordinary expences for maintaining the pragmatick sanction, at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his Parliament. He, therefore, demanded of the Commons such a supply as might be requisite for these ends: and promised to manage it with all possible frugality. The Lower House, in their address, approved of all his measures; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved, that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that Princess. Mr. Shippen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his Majesty's foreign dominions; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with that important and inviolable law, the act of Settlement: a promise which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious Family to which the nation owed such numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his Majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary. Towards the expence of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking fund; and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five millions. The session was closed on the twenty-fifth day of April, when the King took his leave of this Parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the Lower House, who had signalized

nalized themselves in defence of the Minister, were now ennobled, and created Barons of Montford, Ilchester, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colchester: and the King having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions.* CHAP. VI. 1741.

* Sir William Wyndham died the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the constant asserter of British liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the English nation. In the course of the same year, General Oglethorpe, Governor of Georgia, had, with some succours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of King's ships, made an attempt upon Fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; and actually reduced some small forts in the neighbourhood of the place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a supply and reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Georgia.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *The army under Lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeds to the West-Indies.* § II. *Nature of the climate on the Spanish main.* § III. *Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagena.* § IV. *Attack of Fort Lazar.* § V. *Expedition to Cuba.* § VI. *Rupture between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia.* § VII. *Battle of Molwitz.* § VIII. *The King of Great-Britain concludes a treaty of neutrality with France for the electorate of Hanover.* § IX. *A body of French forces join the Elector of Bavaria.* § X. *He is crowned King of Bohemia at Prague.* § XI. *Fidelity of the Hungarians.* § XII. *War between Russia and Sweden.* § XIII. *Revolution in Russia.* § XIV. *The Spanish and French squadrons pass unmolested by the English Admiral in the Mediterranean.* § XV. *Inactivity of the naval power of Great-Britain.* § XVI. *Obstinate struggle in electing members in the New Parliament.* § XVII. *Remarkable motion in the House of Commons by Lord Noel Somerset.* § XVIII. *The country party obtain a majority in the House of Commons.* § XIX. *Sir Robert Walpole created Earl of Orford.* § XX. *Change in the ministry.* § XXI. *Inquiry into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole.* § XXII. *Obstructed by the new ministry.* § XXIII. *Reports of the secret committee.* § XXIV. *The Elector of Bavaria chosen Emperor.* § XXV. *The King of Prussia gains the battle of Czaslaw. Treaty at Breslau.* § XXVI. *The French troops retire under the cannon of Prague. A fresh body sent with the Mareschal de Mallebois to bring them off.* § XXVII. *Extraordinary retreat of M. de Belleisle.* § XXVIII. *The King of Great-Britain forms an army in Flanders.* § XXIX. *Progress of the war between Russia and Sweden.* § XXX. *The King of Sardinia declares for*

for the House of Austria. § XXXI. *Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy.* § XXXII. *Conduct of Admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean.* § XXXIII. *Operations in the West-Indies.* § XXXIV. *The attention of the ministry turned chiefly on the affairs of the Continent.* § XXXV. *Extraordinary motion in the House of Lords by Earl Stanhope.* § XXXVI. *Warm and obstinate debate on the repeal of the Gin-act.* § XXXVII. *Bill for quieting Corporatians.* § XXXVIII. *Convention between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary.* § XXXIX. *Difference between the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover.* § XL. *The King of Great-Britain obtains a victory over the French at Dettingen.* § XLI. *Treaty of Worms.* § XLII. *Conclusion of the campaign.* § XLIII. *Affairs in the North.* § XLIV. *Battle of Campo-Santo.* § XLV. *Transactions of the British fleet in the Mediterranean.* § XLVI. *Unsuccessful attempts upon the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies.*

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ I. THE British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West-Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the Bay of Biscay, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant Lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and

BOOK II. 1741.

and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the Commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe, under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish Admiral, De Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French Commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually, for the mistake which had happened; and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

§ II. In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined Vice-Admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine-and-twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fireships, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand; that of the land forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes inlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of twelve thousand. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise, experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honour of their country, the Havannah, and whole island of Cuba, might have been easily reduced: the whole treasure of the Spanish West-

Indies

Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain must have been humbled into the most abject submission. But several unfavourable circumstances concurred to frustrate the hopes of the publick. The ministry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted: for on the continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers which render the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

§ III. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and Admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron, commanded by the Marquis d'Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French Admiral had sailed for Europe, in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West-Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah: but Carthagena was strongly fortified, and the garrison reinforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the English Admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba,

BOOK II. 1741.

Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was surprizingly fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the Admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but the forts and batteries were abandoned: the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken: the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without farther opposition. Then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The Admiral and General had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve, and separate cabals: and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

§ IV. The General complained that the fleet lay idle while his troops were harassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper. The Admiral affirmed, that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena: he upbraided the General with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar which commanded the town, and might be taken by scalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack: but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they

were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling-ladders were found too short: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore: besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were, therefore, re-embarked: and all hope of further success immediately vanished. The Admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the Gallicia, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by Captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a considerable distance from the walls, in a very shallow water. In this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the Admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea-breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the Admiral drew from it altogether fallacious. He said it plainly proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour, sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success. This, indeed, was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Gallicia was conducted: but a little farther to the left, he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships a-breast, within pistol-shot of the walls;

CHAP. VII. 1741.

BOOK II. 1741.

walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

§ V. After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy perished by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead: nothing was seen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica.—The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent, and the people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprize which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles further up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and re-conveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards reinforced from England by four ships of war, and about three thousand soldiers: but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and

and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character. CHAP. VII.

§ VI. The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The King of Prussia had demanded of the Court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled: and promised to assist the Queen with all his forces, in case she should comply with his demand: but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. In the mean time, the Queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburgh, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the Grand Duke her consort was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government. At the same time the States of Hungary refused to receive a memorial from the Elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian Majesty made his publick entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his Generals surprized the town and fortress of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by scalade, made the Generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison: here, likewise, the victor found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition. 1741.

§ VII. The Queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herself with the more vigour, she ordered Count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered each other in the neighbourhood of Neiss, at a village called Mol-

BOOK II. witz, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchased by the King of Prussia. His kinsman, Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburgh, and Lieutenant-General Schuylemberg, were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the Prussian, and he forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian hussars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation: but the two Sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The Queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a Prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and his Prussian Majesty charged the Court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery: a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the King of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the Elector, under the command of Count Deslau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neiss, almost without opposition: then his master received the homage of the Silesian States at Breslau, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province; and in March his Prussian Majesty formed a camp of observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh.

1741.

§ VIII. The Elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the King of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A scheme was said to have been proposed to the Court

Court of Vienna, for attacking that Prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conquest: but it never was put in execution. Nevertheless, the troops of Hanover were augumented: the auxiliary Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great-Britain were ordered to be in readiness to march; and a good number of British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. The subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, granted by Parliament, was remitted to the Queen of Hungary; and every thing seemed to presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannick Majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that spirit of action seemed to flag even while her Hungarian Majesty tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the House of Austria. In order to intimidate the Elector of Hanover, Mareschal Mallebois was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded: and the King of Great-Britain engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of an Emperor. The design of the French Court was to raise this Prince to the Imperial dignity, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ IX. While the French ministry at Vienna endeavoured to amuse the Queen with the strongest assurances of his Master's friendshp, a body of five-and-thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria: another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleisle being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negociate with different Electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the Elector of Bavaria with a commission, appointing him Generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance: and now the treaty of Nymphenburgh was

BOOK II. 1741.

was concluded. The French King engaged to assist the Elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the Imperial throne: the Elector promised, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the Empire which France had conquered: that he would in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she should subdue in the Austrian Netherlands. The next step of Belleisle was to negociate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing, That the Elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese; That the King of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia, and that his Prussian Majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz. These precautions being taken, the Count de Belleisle repaired to Frankfort, in quality of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary from France, at the Imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French King published a declaration, signifying, that as the King of Great-Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an Emperor, his Most Christian Majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanick body, and secure the freedom of the Imperial election.

§ X. In July, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Mareschal Broglio, surprized the Imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube: and entering Upper-Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, where he received the homage of the States of that country. Understanding that the garrison of Vienna was very numerous, and that Count Palfi had assembled thirty thousand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no farther progress

gress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of Count Rutowski, natural son to the late King of Poland. By this time his Polish Majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenbourg, and declared war against the Queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The Elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by scalade: an achievement in which Maurice Count of Saxe, another natural son of the King of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the Elector of Bavaria made his publick entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities; then he set out for Franckfort, to be present at the diet of election.

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XI. At this period the Queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to destruction. She was not, however, forsaken by her courage, nor destitute of good officers, and an able ministry. She retired to Presburgh, and in a pathetick Latin speech to the States, expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian subjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her, unanimously, that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their sentiments against her enemy by a publick edict excluding for ever the electoral House of Bavaria from the succession to the Crown of Hungary: yet, without the subsidy she received from Great-Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this supply she was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her strong places in a posture of defence. In December, her Generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated Count

BOOK II. 1741.

Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution: while Count Khevenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria. The Grand Signor assured the Queen of Hungary, that far from taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship; the Pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions; and even to use all the church-plate for the support of the war.

§ XII. As the Czarina expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate Princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their interest Count Gyllenburgh, Prime-Minister and President of the Chancery in Sweden. A dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed: Mr. Burnaby was forbid the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication; on the other hand, the King of Sweden justified his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign ministers. The King of Great-Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected. The Swedes having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia, upon the most trifling pretences; and the fleet putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia. A body of eleven thousand Swedes commanded by General Wrangle, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were, in August, attacked and defeated by General Lasci, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for his disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter quarters. In December

ber he marched towards Wybourg: but receiving letters from the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg and the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburgh, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for further instructions; and the two courts agreed to a cessation of arms for three months. CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XIII. The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government. The late Czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service. These causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies: and when they were discovered, the Empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general disaffection. Besides, they were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh Bevern, father to the young Czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility, and his consort, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, having assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late Czarina. The Russian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the Princess Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter the Great, and the darling of the Empire. The French Ambassador gladly concurred in a project for deposing a Princess who was well affected to the House of Austria. General Lasci approved of the design, which was chiefly conducted by the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg, who, in the reigns of the Empress Catherine and Peter II. had been generalissimo of the Russian army. The good-will and concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments of guards took possession of all the avenues of the Imperial palace at Petersburgh. The Princess Elizabeth, putting herself at the head of one thousand men, on

BOOK II. 1741.

the fifth day of December entered the winter-palace, where the Princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant Czar resided. She advanced into the chamber where the Princess and her consort lay, and desired them to rise, and quit the palace, adding that their persons were safe; and that they could not justly blame her for asserting her right. At the same time, the Counts Osterman, Golofhairkin, Mingden, and Munich, were arrested; their papers and effects were seized, and their persons conveyed to Schlisselbourg, a fortress on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that the Imperial dignity belonged of right to the Princess Elizabeth: she was immediately proclaimed Empress of all the Russias, and recognized by the army in Finland. She forthwith published a general act of indemnity: she created the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg generalissimo of her armies; she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and estates: she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for favouring her pretensions: she mitigated the exile of the Duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank: she released General Wrangle, Count Wasaburgh, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willmenstrand: and the Princess Ann of Mecklenburgh, with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

§ XIV. Amidst these tempests of war and revolution, the States-General wisely determined to preserve their own tranquillity. It was, doubtless, their interest to avoid the dangers and expences of a war, and to profit by that stagnation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other: besides, they were over-awed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side; by the power, activity,

activity, and pretensions of his Prussian Majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a Stadtholder at the head of their army. These at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, reinforced by others that acted under French influence. But the Prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth: he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamoured for a war, without ceasing. This national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the Courts of Vienna and London, obliged the States to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces: but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the King of Sardinia declared for the House of Austria: the republick of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest; the Pope, the Venetians, and the Dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the King of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the Queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While Admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British Admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French Admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with

CHAP. VII. 1741.

BOOK II. 1741.

with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British Admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover*.

§ XV. The Court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of Commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, then they sent Don Pizzarro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He accordingly steered the same course, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament, near the straits of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempest, through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South Sea. One of the Spanish ships perished at sea: another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil: and Pizzarro bore away for the Rio de la Plate, where he arrived with the three remaining ships, in a shattered condition, after having lost

* In the month of July two ships of Haddock's squadron falling in with three French ships of war, Captain Barnet, the English Commodore, supposing them to be Spanish register ships, fired a shot in order to bring them to; and they refusing to comply with this signal, a sharp engagement ensued; after they had fought several hours, the French commander ceased firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the course of this year a dangerous conspiracy was discovered at New York, in North America. One Hewson, a low publican, had engaged several negroes in a design to destroy the town, and massacre the people. Fire was set to several parts of the city; nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewson, with his wife, and a servant-maid privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died protesting their innocence,

twelve

twelve hundred men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain, valued at near four millions of piastres. The traders had, therefore, too much cause to complain, considering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the course of the summer Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy, as if the sole intention of the ministry had been to expose the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the British arms appears the more inexcusable, when we consider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great-Britain, exclusive of the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the fleet consisted of above one hundred ships of war, manned by fifty-four thousand sailors.

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XVI. The general discontent of the people had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new Parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties, which had happened since the Revolution. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales concurred with the country party, in opposition to the minister; and the Duke of Argyle exerted himself so successfully among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen Peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constituents to a great number of members returned for cities

BOOK II. 1741.

cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace: to vote for the mitigation of excise laws, for the repeal of septennial Parliaments; and for the limitation of placemen in the House of Commons. They, likewise, insisted upon their examining into the particulars of the publick expence, and endeavouring to redress the grievances of the nation. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardour and perseverance; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that, notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the country interest seemed to preponderate in the new Parliament.

§ XVII. The King returned to England in the month of October; and on the first day of December the session was opened. Mr. Onslow being rechosen speaker was approved of by his Majesty, who spoke in the usual stile to both Houses. He observed, that the former Parliament had formed the strongest resolution in favour of the Queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatick sanction; for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had answered the just expectations so solemnly given, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty. He said, he had endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers that were united with him by the ties of common interest to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture required: that where an accommodation seemed necessary, he had laboured to reconcile Princes whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which had happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the desired effect: though he

was

was not without hope, that a just sense of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He represented the necessity of putting the kingdom in such a posture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and dispatch. The House of Commons having appointed their several committees, the Speaker reported the King's speech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted. The motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, Lord Noel Somerset stood up and moved, that the House would in their address desire his Majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. He was supported by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said he was grown old in the House of Commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. "If my country (added he) has been "so unfortunate as once more to commit her inte- "rest to men who propose to themselves no advan- "tage from their trust but that of selling it, I may, "perhaps, fall once more under censure for de- "claring my opinion, and be once more treated as "a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me "cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian "maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this "nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly "inculcated by those patriots who framed the Act "of Settlement, and conferred upon the present "Royal Family their title to the throne." He particularized the instances in which the ministry had acted

1741.

BOOK II. 1741.

acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary constitution: and he insisted on the necessity of taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who began to think themselves in danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same side of the question, expatiated upon the absurdity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. "What! (said he) are "our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, "disgrace, and losses, the ruin of our merchants, "the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of ar- "maments, and useless expences?" Sir Robert Walpole, having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who seemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation. He asserted, that from a review of that Minister's conduct since the beginning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty not only of single errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness and honour of the British nation. He then entered into a detail of that conduct against which he had so often declaimed; and being transported by an over-heated imagination, accused him of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge that was doubtless the result of exaggerated animosity, and served only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded. His objections were overruled; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his Majesty.

§ XVIII. This small advantage, however, the Minister did not consider as a proof of his having ascertained an undoubted majority in the House of Commons. There was a great number of disputed elections; and the discussion of these was the point

on

on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the Minister's power and credit. In the first which was heard at the bar of the House, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their strength; as they knew they should be joined, in matters of importance, by several members who voted against them on this occasion. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on the side of the administration plainly proved that the influence of the Minister was greatly diminished, and seemed to prognosticate his further decline. This consideration induced some individuals to declare against him as a setting sun, from whose beams they could expect no further warmth. His adherents began to tremble; and he himself had occasion for all his art and equanimity. The court-interest was not sufficient to support the election of their own members for Westminster. The high-bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll; and three justices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, sent for a military force to over-awe the election. A petition presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the House; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into custody: the officers who ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the House.

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XIX. The country-party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon several other controverted elections; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him prisoner to the Tower, should ever the motion be made: and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing

BOOK II. 1741.

viding the opposition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the Bishop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importing, That if his Royal Highness would write a letter of condescension to the King, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; that fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; four times that sum be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts; and suitable provision be made in due time for all his followers. The Prince declined this proposal. He declared that he would accept no such conditions, while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the publick affairs: that he looked upon him as a bar between his Majesty and the affections of his people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as the sole cause of that contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His Royal Highness was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation—a party which had gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons; which professed to act upon the principles of publick virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious Minister, as a sacrifice due to an injured people; and declared that no temptation could shake their virtue; that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in this attempt upon the Prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavours. He resolved to try his strength once more in the House of Commons, in another disputed election; and had the mortification to see the majority augmented to sixteen voices. He declared he would never more sit in that House; and next day, which was the third of February, the King adjourned both Houses of Parliament to the eighteenth

teenth day of the same month. In this interim Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments. CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XX. At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. The country-party consited of the Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration. The old patriots, and the Whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and, indeed, upon opposite principles of government; and, therefore they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was projected between the discontented Whigs and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. The Court required nothing of them, but that the Earl of Orford should escape with impunity. His place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was bestowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a Lord of the Treasury; and the Earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first Commissioner of that Board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of Earl, was declared President of the Council; and in his room Lord Carteret became Secretary of State. The Duke of Argyle was made Master-general of the Ordnance, Colonel of his Majesty's Royal regiment of Horse guards, Field-Marshal and Commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain: but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in less than a month, renounced all these employments. The Marquis

BOOK II. 1741.

of Tweedale was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, a post which had been long suppressed; Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the Privy-Council, and afterwards created Earl of Bath. The Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the Admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair was appointed Field-marshal of all his Majesty's forces, as well as Ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. On the seventeenth day of February the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his Majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to the restored. Lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the Court, without the consent or privity of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney: but they declared to their friends, they would still proceed upon patriot principles; that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures; and in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. These professions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the House of Commons, but also by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with publick rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the House of Commons.

§ XXI. But this harmony was of short duration. It soon appeared, that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country had been actuated solely by the most sordid, and even the most ridiculous motives of self-interest. Jealousy and mutual distrust ensued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained, that, instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition; and the

the same interest in Parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country; and in the transport of their indignation, they entirely overlooked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition should forsake his party for the blandishment of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart; but the sensible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man, who seeing himself idolized by his fellow-citizens as the first and firmest patriot in the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or detestation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation—One cannot but lament, that such glory should have been so weakly forfeited; that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue. Doubtless he flattered himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his Sovereign; but this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the House, should be referred to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particulars, and make a report to the House of their remarks, and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a division, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of

CHAP. VII.

1741.

BOOK II. 1741.

the war, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on these remonstrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses: then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and in a pathetick speech endeavoured to demonstrate, that the commerce of Great-Britain had been exposed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued design. This inquiry being resumed after the adjournment, copies of instructions to Admirals and Captains of cruising ships were laid before the House; the Commons passed several resolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the Lower House; but was thrown out by the Lords. The pension-bill was revived, and sent up to the Peers, where it was again rejected. Lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. On the ninth day of March, Lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years: he was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Philips, Mr. W. Pitt, and Lord Percival, the new member for Westminster, who had already signalized himself by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, Surveyor-General to his Majesty's Works, and brother to Lord Ilchester. Though the opposition was faint and frivolous, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limerick, not yet discouraged, made a motion, on the twenty-third day of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford for the last ten years of his administration; and, after a sharp debate, it was carried in the

the affirmative. The House resolved to choose a secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time presented an address to the King, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection. CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XXII. Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial Parliaments, he was seconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, Lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the House of his obstinacy. He was first taken into custody; and still persisting in his refusal, committed to Newgate. Then his Lordship moved, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence against the Earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a decision of the majority. In the House of Lords it was vigorously opposed by Lord Carteret, and as strenuously supported by the Duke of Argyle: but fell upon a division, by the weight of superior numbers. Those members in the House of Commons who heartily wished that the inquiry might be prosecuted were extremely incensed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to search the Journals of the Lords for precedents: their report being read, Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, "That the Lords refusing to concur with the Commons of Great-Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry, now depending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation."—This motion, which was seconded by Lord Quarendon, son of the Earl of Lichfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed against it, as a step that would bring on an immediate dissolution of the present

BOOK II.

1742.

form of government. It is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostacy, from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: neyertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction, purposely thrown in the way of the enquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the Earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West-Indies: that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for secret service, during the last ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of the publick money: that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers and political tracts written in defence of the ministry: that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds: but as the cash remaining in the Exchequer did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report; when they were interrupted by the prorogation of Parliament.

§ XXIII. The ministry finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the House of Commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunaticks. They voted forty thousand seamen, and sixty-two

thousand five hundred landmen for the service of the current year. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hessé-Cassel, and voted five hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary. The expence of the year amounted to near six millions, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by one million from the sinking-fund, by annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the Bank. In the month of July, John Lord Gower was appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Privy-seal: Allen Lord Bathurst was made Captain of the Band of Pensioners; and on the fifteenth day of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the House of Peers as Earl of Bath. The King closed the session in the usual way, after having given them to understand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, under his mediation, and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXIV. By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the Continent. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor of Germany at Franckfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth day of February. Thither the Imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean time, the Austrian General, Khevenhuller, ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria: he likewise laid part of the Palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that Elector's having sent a body of his troops to reinforce the Imperial army. In March, Count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Austrians

BOOK II. 1742.

were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached General Bernclau to Dinglesing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkersbergh on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the Imperialists were defeated.

§ XXV. In the beginning of the year the Queen of Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of fifty thousand men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the Prince took the route to Bohemia; and Marshal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the King of Prussia received a strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other; and on the seventeenth of May, joined battle at Czaslaw, where the Austrians at first gained a manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage: then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly, that they neglected every other consideration. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally: the battle was renewed, and, after a very obstinate contest, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Prussians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of battle; and from the circumstances of this action the King is said to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the

the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his General, the Count de Schwerin, assuring his Majesty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he discovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the Queen of Hungary. The Earl of Hyndford, Ambassador from the Court of Great-Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian Majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable disposition: and on the first day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breslau. The Queen ceded to his Prussian Majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late Emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the King of Great-Britain, Elector of Hanover, the Czarina, the King of Denmark, the States-General, the House of Wolfenbuttle, and the King of Poland Elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXVI. The King of Prussia recalled his troops; while Mareschal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the Count de Belleisle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves in an advantageous situation; and Prince Charles being joined by the other body of Austrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girinsnitz. The Grand Duke of Tuscany arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French Generals offered to surrender

BOOK II. 1742.

surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The proposal was rejected, and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July. Though the operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The Emperor had made advances to the Queen of Hungary. He promised that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore Bavaria: but these conditions were declined by the Court of Vienna. The King of France was no sooner apprized of the condition to which the Generals Broglio and Belleisle were reduced, than he sent orders to Marshal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion: and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and Imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine having received intelligence of their junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of General Festititz, while he himself, with the rest of his army, advanced to Haydon on the frontiers of Bohemia. There he was joined by Count Khevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by Count Seckendorff, and the Count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however, was sent back to Bavaria, while Marshal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September. But he marched with such precaution, that Prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Meanwhile Festititz, for want of sufficient force, was obliged

obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French Generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan: but seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the Palatinate, and was miserably harassed in his retreat by Prince Charles, who had left a strong body with Prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle, and Broglio. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXVII. These Generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh, and unclean animals: and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their Commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of Prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible. A great number perished in the snow,

BOOK II.

1742.

snow, and many hundreds, fainting with weariness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth. The Count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression upon the body of his troops: but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of December, he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without further molestation: but, when he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, Prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle had left in that place surrendered upon honourable terms; so that this capital reverted to the House of Austria.

§ XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had in the month of April ordered sixteen thousand effective men to be embarked for that country: but, as this step was taken without any previous concert with the States-General, the Earl of Stair, destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to their High Mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannick Majesty had formed: a plan by which Great Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed upon herself the whole burthen of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and, instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure

treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The King of Prussia had been at variance with the Elector of Hanover. The duchy of Mecklenburgh was the avowed subject of dispute: but his Prussian Majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The King of Great-Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Brandenburgh took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the King of Prussia. The Elector of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where they encamped. The Earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxembourg: the English and Hessians remained in Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the Bishop's protestation.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXIX. The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the House of Orange began to exert themselves: the States of Groningen and West-Friesland protested, in favour of the Prince, against the promotion

BOOK II. motion of foreign Generals which had lately been made: but his interest was powerfully opposed by
1742. the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greatest weight in the republick. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. These two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months, during which the Czarina augmented her forces in Finland. She likewise ordered the Counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes, still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the Czar Peter, should be restored. The French Court had expected to bring over the new Empress to their measures: but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor to assist the House of Austria. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the Queen of Hungary: and at that same time congratulated the Elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the Imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow; and in November she declared her nephew, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of Grand Prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, General Lasci reduced Fredericksheim, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by Count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors. In this emergency, the Swedish General submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The King of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister

sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the Crown. A courier was immediately dispatched to Moscow, to notify to the Duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation: but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the Czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the mean time, the events of the war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy treaty between Great-Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish Majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXX. The Court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the Queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the King of Sardinia from the interest of the House of Austria. This Prince had espoused a sister to the Grand Duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the Queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy: but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported.

BOOK II. 1742.

supported. He therefore temporised, and protracted the negociation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great-Britain. The Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the Duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese: then the King of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by Count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the Duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, dispossessed that Prince of his dominions. The Duke de Montemar, seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the King of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

§ XXXI. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third son of his Catholick Majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken possession of Chamberri, the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took post under the cannon of fort Barreaux. The King pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the month of December, when the Marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising General, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. This General's first exploit was against the castle of Aspremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it so vigorously, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in four-and-forty hours. The loss of this important post compelled the King to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Mon-

temar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the Duke of Modena was nominal Generalissimo; resigned his command to Count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of Count Traun, the Austrian General. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan. The Pope was passive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained their neutrality, and the King of the Two Sicilies was overawed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXXII. The new ministry in England had sent out Admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission, on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of Minister-Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia and the States of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered Captain Norris to destroy five Spanish gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached Commodore Rowley, with eight sail, to cruize off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent Commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian Majesty would immediately recal his troops which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation; the King subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the Admiral on the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter station. Before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed

BOOK II. 1742.

stroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruizers to attack a Spanish ship of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica: but the Spanish Captain sent his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

§ XXXIII. In the course of this year Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth made another effort in the West-Indies. They had in January received a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the Governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in their voyage. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution*. In August, a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September, Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive: these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglo-

* In May, two English frigates, commanded by Captain Smith and Captain Stuart, fell in with three Spanish ships of war, near the island of St. Christopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favour of which the enemy retired to Porto Rico in a shattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ship of war, of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, off the island of Hispaniola, on which occasion one hundred and twenty-seven men perished; the rest were saved by Captain Hore, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruize.

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rious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalizing their courage, and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, Governor of that fortress. It consisted of six-and-thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprize. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXXIV. In England the merchants still complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured against the conduct of the war. They said, their burthens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern: to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacifick armies. Lord C. had by this time insinuated himself into the confidence of his Sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of publick affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the Empire. By pursuing this object he soothed the wishes of his Master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had studied the policy of the Continent with peculiar eagerness. This was the favourite subject of his reflection, upon which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity

BOOK II. 1742.

iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connections; upon which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He saw nothing but glory, conquest, or acquired dominion. He set the power of France at defiance; and as if Great-Britain had felt no distress, but teemed with treasure which she could not otherwise employ, he poured forth her millions with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The Earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his Majesty. A privy-council was summoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. Lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the beggage of the King and the Duke of Cumberland, which had been shipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on shore. The Parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his Majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause at all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia, and that Prince's strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia; the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the Czarina, and with the King of Prussia; as events which could not have been expected, if Great-Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour, in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said, the honour and interest of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the

the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions. The Marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the Earl of Chesterfield, for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by Lord C. on his new adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance. The Motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his Majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his Majesty and the King of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the House of Commons Mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority: but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the inquiry.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXXV. When the House of Lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expence occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great-Britain, Earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech and advise his Majesty, that in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of the charge and burthen of those mercenaries who were

BOOK II. 1742.

taken into the service last year, without the advice or consent of Parliament. The motion was supported by the Earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and, in mentioning the Royal Family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required. He had, indeed, reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only, and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the Electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the Continent. The Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. He said it had been suspected, nor was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his Majesty's electoral territories: that these had been long considered as a gulf into which the treasures of Great-Britain had been thrown: that the state of Hanover had been changed, without any visible cause, since the accession of its Princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new Minister, the patriot Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, which last nobleman declared, that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness, to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamours, which had been raised against the measures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, and partial representations. This is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole

Walpole had often used against Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the House of Commons. The associates of the new Secretary pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land-war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered; their conduct was severely stigmatised by the Earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the Queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure: the taking sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the Parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that these troops could not be employed against the Emperor, whom they had already recognized: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the House of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence: that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner: that while Great-Britain exhausted herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the Queen of Hungary, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same Prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great-Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under such intolerable burthens. "It may "be proper (added he) to repeat what may be for-"gotten in the multitude of other objects, that this

CHAP. VII. 1742.

BOOK II. 1742.

"nation, after having exalted the Elector of Ha-
"nover from a state of obscurity, to the crown, is
"condemned to hire the troops of that electorate
"to fight their own cause: to hire them at a rate
"which was never demanded before; and to pay
"levy-money for them, though it is known to all
"Europe that they were not raised for this occa-
"sion." All the partisans of the old ministry joined in the opposition to Earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority. Then the Earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewise carried by dint of numbers. It was not however a very eligible victory: what they gained in Parliament they lost with the people. The new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and the people began to think publick virtue was an empty name.

§ XXXVI. But the most severe opposition they underwent was in their endeavours to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the House of Commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors and licences for retailing the liquors; and imposed others at an easy rate. When those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called Gin, which was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in publick, inviting people to be drunk for the small expence of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw,

straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health, and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the Legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets; informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the Crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: but it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They, therefore, pretended, that should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and licences granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licences. Upon these maxims the new bill was founded, and passed through the Lower House without opposition: but among the Peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this Parliament. The first assault it sustained was from Lord

CHAP. VII. 1742.

32114

BOOK II. 1742.

Lord Hervey, who had been divested of his post of Privy-seal, which was bestowed on Lord Gower; and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant. The first was hardened into a sturdy patriot; the other suppled into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey on this occasion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the same topicks: but the Earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule. Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, were numbered among its advocates; and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it; and we cannot help owning, that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the Lords in the opposition foretold. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the Earl of Chesterfield saw the Bishops join in his division, "I am in doubt (said he) whether I have not got "on the other side of the question; for I have not "had the honour to divide with so many lawn "sleeves for several years."

§ XXXVII. By the report of the secret committee it appeared that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of Parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the House of Lords; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independency of corporations: but as it tended to diminish the influence of the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success; and it was rejected on a division.

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The mutiny bill and several others passed through both Houses. The Commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on spirituous liquors, and licences, and a loan from the sinking fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds. On the twenty-first day of April the session was closed in the usual manner. The King in his speech to both Houses, told them that at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West-Indies. He thanked the Commons for the ample supplies they had granted; and declared it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

CHAP. VII. 1742. An. 1743.

§ XXXVIII. At this period the Queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and their forces under Mareschal Broglio were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time, three bodies of Croatians penetrating through the passes of the Tyroleze, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The Emperor pressed the French General to hazard a battle; but he refused to run the risque, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France. His Imperial Majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh: Mareschal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards

BOOK II. 1743.

wards joined by Mareschal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the Queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg, while Prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron. The Emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the Queen of Hungary. His General, Seckendorf, had an interview with Count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowersconfield, where a convention was signed. This treaty imported, That the Emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and, That his troops should be quartered in Franconia: That the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: That Braunau and Scarding should be delivered up to the Austrians: That the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian Generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The Governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in the capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the Emperor's domestick treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the House of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train

train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition. CHAP. VII.

1743.

§ XXXIX. The French King, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of the Emperor, ordered his minister at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war. He said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the Emperor had concluded with the Queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanick body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the Queen of Hungary answered in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies: that the Elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French King was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The Elector of Mentz, who had favoured the Emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the Diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election. The Emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction, as a stroke levelled at his Imperial dignity; and it gave rise to a warm dispute among the members of the Germanick body. Several Princes resented the haughty conduct, and began

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BOOK II.

1743.

to be alarmed at the success of the House of Austria; while others pitied the deplorable situation of the Emperor. The Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, as Electors of Hanover and Brandenburgh, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian Majesty protested against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe Lawenburgh, claimed by the King of Great-Britain: he had an interview with General Seckendorf at Aspach; and was said to have privately visited the Emperor at Franckfort.

§ XL. The troops which the King of Great-Britain had assembled in the Netherlands, began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the Earl of Stair. This nobleman sent Major-General Bland to Franckfort, with a compliment to the Emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannick Majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed. Notwithstanding this assurance, the Emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the success of the Austrians in Bavaria. The French King, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with Prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the Mareschal de Noailles to assemble sixty thousand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was sent into Alsace with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppose Prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. The Mareschal de Noailles, having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Franckfort. The Earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of D'Armstadt; from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffenburgh, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but he was anticipated

cipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the Allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the Confederates. The Duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his Majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to above forty thousand men, in danger of starving; he received intelligence, that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau: and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect a junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburgh, than it was seized by the French General: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river farther down, at Selingenstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburgh behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the Allies on their march: in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre. Thus environed, the Confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the Duke de Gramont, who commanded

CHAP. VII. 1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the Allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder: but the infantry of the Allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their Sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost above five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The Earl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the Allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the Duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The King exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Mareschal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle: and these the French General treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

§ XLI. The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French General receiving intelligence that Prince

Prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The King of Great-Britain was visited by Prince Charles and Count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the twenty-seventh day of August, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the King fixed his head quarters in the episcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Mareschal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the Allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the entrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannick Majesty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy: the King of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great-Britain. As a further gratification, the Queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavi, and in the Novarese: and all her right and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republick of Genoa, which they hoped would give it up, on being repaid the purchase-money, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds. This sum the King of England promised to disburse; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the Commander of which should

CHAP. VII. 1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

should act in concert with his Sardinian Majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final should be constituted a free port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negociated out of their property. They had purchased the marquisate of Final of the late Emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great-Britain. It could not, therefore, be expected that they would part with this acquisition to a Prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They presented remonstrances against this article by their ministers at the Courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and, as very little regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

§ XLII. After the battle of Dettingen, Colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the Queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September Prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but Mareschal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design, and marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria. By this time the Earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. He had for some time thought himself neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on account of measures in which he had no concern. In October the King of Great-Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took their route to their respective countries. The States General still wavered between their own immediate

immediate interest and their desire to support the House of Austria. At length, however, they supplied her with a subsidy, and ordered twenty thousand men to march to her assistance, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Marquis de Fenelon, the French Ambassador at the Hague, and the declaration of the King of Prussia, who disapproved of this measure, and refused them a passage through his territories to the Rhine. CHAP. VII. 1743.

§ XLIII. Sweden was filled with discontents, and divided into factions. The Generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been sacrificed as scape-goats for the ministry. Some unsuccessful efforts by the sea and land were made against the Russians. At last the peace of Abo was concluded; and the Duke of Holstein-Utin, uncle to the successor of the Russian throne, was chosen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favour of the Prince of Denmark; and the order of the peasants actually elected him as successor. The debates in the college of nobles rose to a very dangerous degree of animosity, and were appeased by an harangue in Swedish verse, which one of the senators pronounced. The peasants yielded the point, and the succession was settled on the Duke of Holstein. Denmark, instigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war against Sweden: but a body of Russian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of General Keith, and the Czarina declaring she would assist the Swedes with her whole force, the King of Denmark thought proper to disarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the North, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the House of Austria. The good understanding between the Czarina and the Queen of Hungary was at this period destroyed, in conse-

BOOK II.

1743.

quence of a conspiracy which had been formed by some persons of distinction at the Court of Petersburgh, for removing the Empress Elizabeth, and recalling the Princess Anne to the administration. This design being discovered, the principal conspirators were corporally punished, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Marquis de Botta, the Austrian Minister, who had resided at the Court of the Czarina, was suspected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this suspicion did not appear till after he was recalled, and sent as Ambassador to the Court of Berlin. The Empress demanded satisfaction of the Queen of Hungary, who appointed commissioners to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted: but the Czarina was not at all satisfied of his innocence. In February a defensive treaty of alliance was concluded between this Princess and the King of Great-Britain.

§ XLIV. By this time France was deprived of her ablest minister, in the death of the Cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is said to have possessed a lively genius, and an insinuating address; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his disposition; but at the same time he has been branded as deceitful, dissembling, and vindictive. His scheme of politicks was altogether pacifick: he endeavoured to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts: he did not seem to pay much regard to the military glory of France; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglio was driven out of Germany, the French Court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the Empire; being, however, apprehensive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that those troops were no longer to be considered in that light, but as subjects acting in the service of France. The campaign in

Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards. In the beginning of February Count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men, passed the Penaro, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the Imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by the Counts Traun and Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sustained by the Confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both sides; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Penaro; retreated suddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rhimini in the Ecclesiastical State, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to Prince Lobkowitz. This General entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards Count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the Courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on some private negociation with the King of Sardinia. This expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of August, and defiling through Dauphiné towards Briançon, was joined by the Prince of Conti, at the head of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Provence;

CHAP. VII. 1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

vence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

§. XLV. The British fleet, commanded by Admiral Matthews, over-awed all the States that bordered on the Mediterranean. This officer, about the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecks, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republick that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute, it was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica; and that the xebecks should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly proclaimed by the name of King Theodore. He had supplied them with some arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign Powers in retrieving their independency: but as these promises were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters. The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and supported by the King of Great-Britain and the Queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and was supplied at this

this juncture with a sum of money to purchase arms for the Corsicans: but a change soon happened in the British ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English Admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca. Some stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia, for the use of the Spanish forces under Count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the Pope had professed; and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the Pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian Majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw. The Captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side; and kept the whole coast in continual alarm*.

CHAP. VII.

1743.

* In May a dreadful plague broke out at Messina in Sicily. It was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from the Morea; and swept off such a multitude of people, that the city was almost depopulated: all the galley slaves, who were employed in burying the dead, perished by the contagion; and this was the fate of many priests and monks who administered to those who were infected. The dead bodies lay in heaps in the streets, corrupting the air, and adding fresh fuel to the rage of the pestilence. Numbers died miserably, for want of proper attendance and necessaries; and all was horror and desolation. At the beginning of winter it ceased, after having destroyed near fifty thousand inhabitants of Messina, and of the garrisons in the citadel and castle. It was prevented from spreading in Sicily by a strong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina; but it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought some goods at Messina. The King of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops which cut off all communication between that place and the rest of the continent.

BOOK II.

1743.

§ XLVI. In the West-Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by Commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira on the coast of Caraccas, in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto Cavallo in April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of that place, were seized with such a panick, that it was found necessary to reimbark them without delay. Then the Commodore abandoned the enterprize, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward Islands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or resolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians, as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and Rangers, and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia. In October the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannick Majesty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the Prince-Royal of Denmark, who met her at Altona, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *Debate in Parliament against the Hanoverian troops:* § II. *Supplies granted.* § III. *Projected invasion of Great-Britain.* § IV. *A French squadron sails up the English channel.* § V. *The kingdom is put in a posture of defence.* § VI. *The design of the French defeated. War between France and England.* § VII. *Bill against those who should correspond with the sons of the Pretender.* § VIII. *Naval engagement off Toulon.* § IX. *Advances towards peace made by the Emperor.* § X. *Treaty of Frankfort.* § XI. *Progress of the French King in the Netherlands.* § XII. *Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine.* § XIII. *The King of Prussia makes an irruption into Bohemia.* § XIV. *Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders.* § XV. *The King of Naples joins Count Gages in Italy.* § XVI. *Battle of Coni.* § XVII. *Return of Commodore Anson. Sir John Balchen perishes at sea.* § XVIII. *Revolution in the British Ministry. Session of Parliament.* § XIX. *Death of the Emperor Charles VII. Accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the young Elector of Bavaria.* § XX. *The King of Prussia gains two successive battles at Friedberg and Sohr, over the Austrian and Saxon forces.* § XXI. *Treaty of Dresden. The Grand Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor of Germany.* § XXII. *The Allies are defeated at Fontenoy.* § XXIII. *The King of Sardinia is almost stripped of his dominions.* § XXIV. *The English forces take Cape Breton.* § XXV. *The importance of this conquest.* § XXVI. *Project of an insurrection in Great-Britain.* § XXVII. *The eldest son of the Chevalier De St. George lands in Scotland.* § XXVIII. *Takes possession of Edinburgh.* § XXIX. *Defeats Sir John Cope at Preston-Pans.* § XXX. *Efforts of the friends of government*

ment in Scotland. § XXXI. *Precautions taken in England.* § XXXII. *The Prince Pretender reduces Carlisle, and penetrates as far as Derby. Consternation of the Londoners.* § XXXIII. *The rebels retreat into Scotland.* § XXXIV. *They invest the castle of Stirling.* § XXXV. *The King's troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk.* § XXXVI. *The Duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland.* § XXXVII. *The rebels undertake the siege of Fort William.*

BOOK II.

1743.

§ I. THE discontents of England were artfully inflamed by anti-ministerial writers, who not only exaggerated the burthens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the distress and misery which, they said, impended over the nation, but also employed the arts of calumny and misrepresentation, to excite a jealousy and national quarrel between the English and Hanoverians. They affirmed that in the last campaign the British General had been neglected and despised: while the councils of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cause: that the British troop sustained daily insults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favour; that the Sovereign himself appeared at Dettingen in an Hanoverian scarf; and that his electoral troops were of very little service in that engagement. Though the most material of these assertions were certainly false, they made a strong impression on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expence of a continental war maintained for the interest of Germany. When the Parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the House of Peers by the Earl of Sandwich, for an address beseeching his Majesty to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the popular discontent, and stop the

the murmurs of the English troops abroad. He was supported by the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the opposition, who did not fail to enumerate, and insist upon all the circumstances we have mentioned. They moreover observed, that better troops might be hired at a smaller expence; that it would be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national treasure, in enriching a hungry and barren electorate; that the popular dissatisfaction against these mercenaries was so general, and raised to such violence, as nothing but their dismission could appease: that if such hirelings should be thus continued from year to year, they might at last become a burthen entailed upon the nation, and be made subservient, under some ambitious Prince, to purposes destructive of the British liberty. These were the suggestions of spleen and animosity; for, granting the necessity of a land war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great-Britain could engage and employ. How insolent soever some few individual Generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the House, the Earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The Lord Chancellor, as speaker of the House, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the House of Commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the Upper House that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British

CHAP. VIII. 1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

tish pay was prejudicial to his Majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was seconded by the Duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute: but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

§ II. In the House of Commons they sustained divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions. Mr. Grenville moved for an address, to beseech his Majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-General on certain stipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. These proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country party were always foiled by dint of superior numbers. Such was the credit and influence of the Ministry in Parliament, that although the national debt was increased by above six millions since the commencement of the war, the Commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expence of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions and a half: to this sum were added three millions and a half paid to the sinking fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's expence rose to ten millions. The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt taxes; one million paid by the East-India Company for the renewal of their charter, twelve hundred thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking fund, six-and-thirty thousand pounds from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery; an expedient which for some time had been annually repeated: and which, in a great measure, contributed to debauch the morals of the publick, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

§ III. The

§ III. The dissensions of the British Parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the Parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and the general dissatisfaction of the people in Great-Britain, the French Ministry were persuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. These were Papists and Jacobites of strong prejudices and warm imaginations, who saw things through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction. They gave the Court of Versailles to understand, that if the Chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son, Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to Cardinal de Tencin, who, since the death of Fleury, had borne a share in the administration of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St. George, and was seemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with the prospect of giving a King to Great-Britain; of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest Princes of Europe. The ministry of France foresaw, that even if this aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great-Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannick Majesty, who was the chief support of the House of Austria, and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the Chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally

CHAP. VIII. 1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

sonally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity: and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now destined to fill the hope which the French ministry had conceived, from the projected invasion of Great-Britain.

§. IV. Count Saxe was appointed by the French King commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand men. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogn. It was determined that they should be landed at Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Breast, and commanded by Monsieur de Roquefuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The Chevalier de St. George is said to have required the personal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with pasports by Cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French King: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British Ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogn. Mr. Thomson, the English resident at Paris, received

orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the Pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his Most Christian Majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the King of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy. CHAP. VIII. 1743.

§. V. Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England; all Governors and Commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel. They joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favour of a Popish Pretender; and assuring his Majesty, that they would, with

BOOK II. 1743.

with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both Universities, the principal towns of Great-Britain, the Clergy, the Dissenting Ministers, the Quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries, which the States-General were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to government, and was invested with the chief command of the forces in Great-Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The Duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse; and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His Majesty was, in another address from Parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by sea and land: the Habeas Corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices: a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against Papists and Nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution was taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the publick tranquillity.

§ VI. Meanwhile the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogn and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young Pretender; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French Admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived

ceived, on the twenty-fourth day of Febuary, the British fleet, under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the English Admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. de Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sun-set, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest was so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded, that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French Generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the young Pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. In the mean time he remained in Paris, or that neighbourhood, *incognito*, and almost totally neglected by the Court of France. Finding himself in this disagreeable situation, and being visited by John Murray of Broughton, who magnified the power of his friends in Great-Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even without the assistance of Louis, in whose sincerity he had no faith, and forthwith took proper measures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England

CHAP. VIII. 1743.

and

BOOK II. 1743. and Scotland. The French King no longer preserved any measures with the Court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. The King of Great-Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the Court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the thirty-first day of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

An. 1744. § VII. The Commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the Pretender. In the Upper House, Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the Pretender's sons. The motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, the Lords Talbot and Hervey argued against it in the most pathetick manner as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion: an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strange, Lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the original

original bill had been countenanced *: the majority, however, declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the Royal assent. The session of Parliament was closed in May, when the King told them, that the French had made vast preparations on the side of the Netherlands; and that the States-General had agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by treaties. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ VIII. By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean, between the British fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty sail: the English Admiral immediately weighed from Hires bay: and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish Admiral, Don Navarro, whose ship, the Real, was a first rate, mounted with above an hundred guns. Rear Admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron; and a very few Captains followed the example of their commanders: but Vice-Admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern: and several Captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number. M. de Court, therefore, made the best of his way towards the Straits' mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron: but he had or-

* The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the Duke of Argyle, a nobleman of shining qualifications for the senate and the field, whose character would have been still more illustrious, had not some parts of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of selfishness and inconstancy. He was succeeded in that title by his brother, Archibald Earl of Ilay.

ders

BOOK II. 1744.

ders to protect the Spanish fleet; and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced he made sail and lay to by turns; so that the British Admiral could not engage them in proper order; and, as they outsailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether, should he wait for Vice-Admiral Lestock, who was so far astern. Under this apprehension he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained with great vivacity by the few who engaged. The Real being quit disabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fire-ship to destroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal; so that the Captain of the fire-ship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking: and being within a few yards of the Real, he set fire to the fusees. The ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which he and his Lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate of the Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors, to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line belonging to a Spanish squadron struck to Captain Hawke, who sent a Lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards taken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of Admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased: and the Admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but the loss of men was very inconsiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and

and the Admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ships a-stern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably by noon; but Admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port-Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Meanwhile the combined squadrons continued their course toward the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant; and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but he entrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the en-

CHAP. VIII. 1744.

BOOK II. 1744.

gagement, when they appeared disabled, and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The Commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had accused Matthews, and all the Captains of his division who misbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several Commanders of ships were cashiered: Vice-Admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his Majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement. Yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct, Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

§ IX. The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The Emperor had to solicit the mediation of his Britannick Majesty, for compromising the differences between him and the Court of Vienna. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the King of England on this subject; and a negociation was begun at Hanau. The Emperor offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, Prince William and Lord Cartaret, as Plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his Imperial Majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself into the arms of the maritime

ritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the House of Austria: and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, recognized as Emperor by the Queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. By a separate article, the King of Great-Britain promised to furnish him with three hundred thousand crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favourably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The Court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests in Bavaria and the Upper-Palatinate. The Queen trusted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the King of Great-Britain, certain it is the negociation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England. The Emperor, environed with distress, renewed his application to the King of Great-Britain; and even declared that he would refer his cause to the determination of the maritime powers; but all his advances were discountenanced: and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burthen of expence under which she groaned.

CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ X. The inflexibility of the House of Austria and its chief ally, proved serviceable to the Emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate Prince excited the compassion of divers Princes: they resented the insolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the Court of Vienna;

BOOK II. 1744.

and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Franckfort, concluded in May between the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Elector-Palatine. They engaged to preserve the constitution of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the Emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the Emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late Emperor they referred to the decision of the States of the empire: they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the King of Poland, the Elector of Cologn, and the Bishop of Liege to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the King of Great-Britain and her Hungarian Majesty, for the operations of the campaign. In the mean time, the French King declared war against this Princess, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration she taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement, with respect to the pragmatick sanction; with having spirited up different pretenders, to lay claim to the succession of the late Emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her: and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the Czarina might be prevented from assisting the House of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire and desolated her hereditary countries. These recriminations

criminations were literally true. The Houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XI. The King of France, though in himself pacifick and unenterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the Mareschal Count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate Generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted themselves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French Monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Lisle on the twelfth day of the same month; and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army. The States-General, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entreated his Most Christian Majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent a minister to wait upon that Monarch, to enforce their former representations, and repeat their entreaties: but no regard was paid to his request. The French King told him, he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had served to no other purpose but that of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly, his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, underwent the same fate; and on the twenty-ninth

day

BOOK II. day of June the King of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

1744. § XII. He had taken such precautions for the defence of Alsace, which was guarded by considerable armies under the command of Coigni and Seckendorf, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter: besides, he had received secret assurances that the King of Prussia would declare for the Emperor; so that he resolved to pursue his conquest in the Netherlands. But all his measures were defeated by the activity of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and his officers, who found means to pass the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian Generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Strasburgh. The Austrians made themselves masters of Haguenau and Saverne: they secured the passes of Lorraine; and laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution. The King of France was no sooner apprized of the Prince's having passed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he sent off a detachment of thirty thousand men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the Mareschal de Coigny; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy: but this design was anticipated by a severe distemper that overtook him at Mentz in Lorraine. The physicians despaired of his life. The Queen, with her children, and all the Princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay the last duties to their dying Sovereign, who, as a true penitent, dismissed his concubines, and began to prepare himself for death: yet the strength of his constitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

§ XIII. In the mean time the schemes of the Austrian General were frustrated by the King of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous army.

army. There he declared, in a public manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in case they should remain quiet: but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms. In a rescript, addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the Queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the Emperor, and restore his hereditary dominions: he said he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed, that his design was to act as auxiliary to the Emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia and undertook the siege of Prague, the Governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and, in a word, subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress. Nevertheless, he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareschals de Coigny, Noailles, and Belleisle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotitz. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favour of her Hungarian Majesty. A convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions had been signed between those two powers in December; and now Prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the conduct of the Duke of Saxe-Wessenfels. The

CHAP. VIII. 1744.

BOOK II. 1744.

combined army was superior to that of his Prussian Majesty, whom they resolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

§ XIV. During these transactions, Count Seckendorf marched into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army, drove the Austrians out of that electorate, and the Emperor regained possession of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second Day of October. In August the French army passed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, defended by General Demnitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. The King of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh Day of October; and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Austrian Governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open five-and-forty days, during which they had killed above fifteen thousand of the besiegers. With this conquest the French King closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the Count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, Count Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the Confederates; he threw up strong entrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was reinforced by the Count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Newport. The Allies, to the number of seventy thousand, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin: but the enemy being so advantageously posted,

posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing Count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia: but Count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The Allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon: and their commanders would not deviate from the usual form of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another. General Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian General, the Duke d'Aremberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they soon marched into winter quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation sent out detachments to ravage the Low-Countries to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied Generals was severely censured in England, and ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation, but also on their publick theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XV. The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune. The King of Naples having assembled an army joined Count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained, that his moderation

BOOK II. 1744.

deration had been undervalued by the Courts of London and Vienna: that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the Queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emissaries of the House of Austria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which Prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invasion. This General was encamped at Monte Rotundo in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the Confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in sight of eath other, Prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces, under Count Soro and General Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquilla, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the Queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and submit again to the House of Austria. This step, however, produced little or no effect; and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the Duke of Vieuville, with a superior number of forces. In August, Count Brown, at the head of an Austrian detachment, surprised Velletri in the night; and the King of the two Sicilies, with the Duke of Modena, were in the utmost danger of being taken. They escaped by a postern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of Count Gages, who performed the part of a great General on this occasion. He rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panick and confusion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thousand Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken, with some standards and colours. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan

a Neapolitan General, was among the prisoners. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and General Novati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit produced no consequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, who were not accustomed to the climate, that Prince Lobkowitz saw his army moulder-ing away, without any possibility of its being recruited: besides the country was so drained that he could no longer procure subsistence. Impelled by these considerations, he meditated a retreat. On the eleventh day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tiber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with Count Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he continued his retreat with equal skill and expedition, passed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached to Bolognese. The Pope was altogether passive. In the beginning of the campaign he had caressed Lobkowitz; and now he received the King of the Two Sicilies with marks of the warmest affection. That Prince having visited the chief curiosities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of Count Gages.

CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XVI. Fortune likewise favoured his brother Don Philip, in Savoy and Piedmont. He was, early in the season, joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the Prince of Conti. In the latter end of March, the combined forces passed the Var, reduced the castle of Aspremont, and entered the city of Nice, without opposition. In April, they attacked the King of Sardinia, who with twenty thousand men, was strongly entrenched among the mountains of Villa-Franca. The action was obstinate

BOOK II.

1744.

nate and bloody; but their numbers and perseverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his posts, and embark on board of the British squadron, which transported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese; but Admiral Matthews, who hovered with a strong squadron on that coast, sent a message to the Republick, declaring, that should the combined army be suffered to pass through her dominions, the King of Great-Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality. The Senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the Princes to desist from their design, and they resolved to choose another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Chateau-Dauphiné, defended by the King of Sardinia in person. After a desperate attack, in which they lost four thousand men, the place was taken: the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian Majesty was not in a condition to hazard a battle: and, therefore, posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Coni, which was invested in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The King of Sardinia being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians, under General Pallavacini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued. The action was maintained with great vigour on both sides, till night, when his Majesty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's entrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Murasso. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and supply of provisions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers. Nevertheless,

theless, the Princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the Chevalier de Soto entered the place with six hundred fresh men. This incident was no sooner known, than the Princes abandoned their enterprize; and leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harrassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian Majesty, who now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné, but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XVII. After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was atchieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great-Britain was, during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, Commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South-Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape-Horn, had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate commanded by Captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Gloucester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta; set sail from the coast of Mexico,

BOOK II. 1744.

Mexico, for the Philippine Isles: and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the Commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships and the scorbutick disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the Commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Philippine islands. In hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neustra Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this windfall, he returned to Canton, from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate Commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English Commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated Captain, and died in obscurity: but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the

the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the King raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an Admiral of approved valour and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first-rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of Fribourg, the Marshal Duke de Belleisle and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependent on the electorate of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They resided at Windsor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great-Britain and France at Franckfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit*.

CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XVIII. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time Earl Granville in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the Royal favour so much, that the Duke

* Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June. In October, the old Duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty-fifth year of her age; immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

of

BOOK II. 1744.

of N—— and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness. He had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of Patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest: they knew their own strength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition, against the prime minister and his measures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every class, without distinction of party. The appellation, however, which they assumed was afterwards converted into a term of derision. The Earl of Granville perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in Parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of his employments. The Earl of Harrington succeeded him as Secretary of State. The Duke of Bedford was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Chesterfield declared Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The Lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a Commissioner of the Treasury: even Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at Court; and Sir John Phillips sat at the Board of Trade and Plantations, though he soon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of measures, and turned out to the ease and advantage of the Sovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obstinate opposition in Parliament. The session was opened on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the usual manner. The Commons unanimously granted about six millions and an half for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by the land, the malt, and the salt taxes, the sinking fund, and the additional duty on wines. In

January the Earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the Maritime Powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties: but his Polish Majesty was paid for his concurrence, with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United Provinces*. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XIX. The business of the British Parliament being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May; and, immediately after the prorogation, the King set out for Hanover. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire, and all the Princes of Germany were in commotion. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian Majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the Imperial Crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French King and his allies. The Court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late Emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of General Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Psiffenhoven; took possession of Rain; surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt; and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young Elector was obliged to aban- An. 1745.

* Robert Earl of Orford, late Prime Minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the Crown, in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the publick treasure, his circumstances were not affluent: he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

BOOK II. don his capital, and retire to Augsburgh, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions.

1745. In this emergency, he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the Elector of Cologn, and of his General, Count Seckendorff, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the Court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately begun at Fuessen, where, in April, the treaty was concluded. The Queen consented to recognize the Imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as Empress Dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition which she had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatick sanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the Queen; and engaged to give his voice for the Grand Duke, at the ensuing election of a King of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral troops; and that Braunau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the Queen's possession, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the Elector's revenue. In the mean time he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

§ XX. The Court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the Electors, except those of Brandenburgh and the Palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army commanded by the Grand Duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the Prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the Great Duke repaired to Frankfort, where, on the second day of September, he

he was by a majority of voices declared King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany. Meanwhile the King of Prussia had made great progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Prussian General Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by General Helsrich; the town of Ratibor was taken by assault; and the King entered Silesia, in May, at the head of seventy thousand men. Prince Charles of Lorrain, being joined by the Duke of Saxe-Wessenfels and twenty thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut; and were attacked by his Prussian Majesty in the plains of Striegan, near Friedberg. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, Prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss of twelve thousand men, and a great number of colours, standards, and artillery. This victory, obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for thought the victor transferred the seat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raising contributions in that country, the Austrians resolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to surprize him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the thirtieth of September, at day-break, but they met with such a warm reception, that notwithstanding their repeated efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable damage, and retreated to Jaromire, leaving five thousand killed upon the spot, besides two thousand that were taken, with many standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of this battle was in a great measure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great eagerness, giving the King an opportunity to rally his disordered troops, and restore the battle: nevertheless, they retired with the plun-

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II. 1745.

der of his baggage, including his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

§ XXI. After this action, his Prussian Majesty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In August he had signed a convention with the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the election of an Emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the King of Poland and the Queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburgh with three different armies; and that, for this purpose, his Polish Majesty had demanded of the Czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two Crowns. Alarmed, or seemingly alarmed, at this information, he solicited the Maritime Powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their good offices with the Court of Petersburgh. Yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption in Lusatia, took possession of Gorlitz, and obliged Prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipsick, and laid Saxony under contribution. The King of Poland, unable to resist the torrent; quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian Majesty became master of Dresden without further opposition. The King of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannick Majesty. By this convention the King of Prussia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to a million

of

of German crowns, to be paid to his Polish Majesty at the next fair of Leipsick. He and the Elector Palatine consented to acknowledge the Grand Duke as Emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian Majesty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which had been granted by the late Emperor, with regard to some territories possessed by the King of Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburgh. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was restored. CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXII. Though the French King could not prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, he resolved to humble the House of Austria, by making a conquest of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there assembled, under the auspices of Mareschal Count de Saxe; and his Most Christian Majesty, with the Dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay, on the thirtieth day of April. The Dutch garrison consisted of eight thousand men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The Duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the allied army assembled at Soignies: he was assisted with the advice of the Count Konigseg, an Austrian General, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheless, they resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuse; and on the twenty-eighth day of April took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the Allies in driving the enemy from some outposts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the

BOOK II. 1745.

the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning: a brisk cannonade ensued: and about nine both armies were engaged. The British infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured back their ground with some disorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulsed the enemy to their camp with great slaughter; but, being wholly unsupported by the other wing, and exposed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, the Duke was obliged to make the necessary dispositions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and the carnage on both sides was very considerable. The Allies lost about twelve thousand men, including a good number of officers; among these were Lieutenant-General Campbell, and Major-General Ponsonby. The victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives; and no honour was lost by the vanquished. Had the Allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their measures, and received all their reinforcements, they might have succeeded in their endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprize. The Duke of Cumberland left his sick and wounded to the humanity of

of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous situation at Lessines. The garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-first day of June, when the Governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conquest of this frontier, which was dismantled, the Duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city: but they fell into an ambuscade at Pas-du-mêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was, after a short siege, surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the same fate: while the allied army lay entrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French King having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph. CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXIII. The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. Count Gages passed the Apennines, and entered the State of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the Eastern coast of Genoa to Lestride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and reinforced with ten thousand Genoese: mean while Prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took post at Parma; but he was soon succeeded by Count Schuylemberg, and sent to command the Austrians to Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without further opposition. Count Gages, with thirty thousand men, took possession of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Austrians to retire under the

BOOK II. 1745.

cannon of Tortona: but when Don Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made himself master of Acqui, the King of Sardinia and the Austrian General, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian Majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the Infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel; all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the House of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued; and the King of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

§ XXIV. The naval transactions of Great-Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command; Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded; several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East-Indies, made prize of several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape-Breton, in North-America: a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The scheme of reducing this

this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his Majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their Grand Battery, which was detached from the town: and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner, that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruizers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison desparing of relief, the Governor capitulated on the seventeenth day of June, when the city of Louisbourg, and the isle of Cape-Breton, were surrendered to his Britannick Majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II. 1745.

that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great-Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

§ XXV. The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a Baronet of Great-Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The possession of Cape-Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great-Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of Admiralty in New-England. He demonstrated, that the reduction of Cape-Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North-America, which would annually return to Great-Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the publick; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; so that Quebeck would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New-England

England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a step-mother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals. Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce; inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impositions, has for some time languished in many valuable branches. The French have undersold our cloths, and spoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer supplied as usual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany must be considerably diminished by the misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the House of Austria; consequently, her greatest resource must be in her communication with her own colonies, which consume her manufactures, and make immense returns in sugar, rum, tobacco, fish, timber, naval stores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The southern plantations likewise produce silk; and, with due encouragement, might furnish every thing that could be expected from the most fertile soil and the happiest climate. The continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great-Britain; and perhaps it may become the last asylum of British liberty. When the nation is enslaved by domestick despotism or foreign dominion; when her substance is wasted, her spirit broke, and the laws and constitution of England are no more; then those colonies, sent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles, and ruined refugees.

§ XXVI.

BOOK II.

1745.

§ XXVI. While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great-Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. The Jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms, and join his standard: but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprize, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the dispositions of his particular friends in every town and country, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to Prince Charles: but the person with whom it was intrusted could find no safe means of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence it was dispatched to France, but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family: that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. On the other hand,

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he knew the British government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had hitherto professed. Some of them had accepted posts and pensions: others were preferred in the army; and the Parliament were so attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material succour from the court of France: he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in Great Britain; and, therefore, resolved to seize the present occasion, which in many respects was propitious to his design. Without doubt, had he been properly supported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great-Britain: for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops; King George was in Germany; the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders, and great part of the Highlanders were keen for insurrection. Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad; and this was really the case. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death *in terrorem*; and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage: and the Highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXVII.

BOOK II.

1745.

§ XXVII. The young Pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place were he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July was joined off Belleisle by the Elisabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy*. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elisabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the Elisabeth was a great misfortune to the Adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about one hundred able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort-William, situated in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conquest by giving lustre to the Prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle; and encouraged a great number of Highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension, that their wives and families would

* The Elisabeth, a King's ship, was procured as a convoy, by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantes; and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

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be subject to insults from the English garrison of this fortress. Prince Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Barra and South-Inst, two of the Hebrides; then he reimbarked, and in a few days arrived at Borodale in Arnsacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the nineteenth day of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected the Pretender's standard at Glensinnan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colours, all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprize. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, the Adventurer must have been crushed in embrio, before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together: but the Lords of the Regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles having assembled above twelve hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort-William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by Major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the Pretender, attacked two companies of new raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another Captain of the King's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the Pretender's manifestos, and a pasport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The Lords of the Regency issued a pro-

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II. 1745.

a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the Prince-Adventurer. The same price was set upon the head of the Elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the Pretender. A courier was dispatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his Majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the King by the city of London; and the Merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained-bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the Lords-Lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their Sovereign; and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations were formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the publick credit, by receiving, as usual, Bank notes in payment for the purposes of traffick. The Protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour, in preaching against the religion of Rome and the Pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles, by several spiritual productions published for the occasion.

§ XXVIII. In a word, the bulk of the nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprize of the Pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who

who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his rout, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North-Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed King of Great-Britain, and the publick money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of Duke of Perth, the Viscount Strathallan, Lord Nairn, Lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estates which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Sterling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by Lord Elcho, son of the Earl of Wemys, and other persons of some distinction. On the sixteenth day of September Charles summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and distracted by fear; the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. Several deputations were sent from the town to the Pretender, in order to negociate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II. 1745.

it without opposition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their Prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood-house in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross: there also the manifesto was read, in which the Chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles, Regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the Union, and redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison, under the command of General Guest, an old officer of experience and capacity.

§ XXIX. During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the seventeeth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to near three thousand men: and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young Pretender, at the head of about two thousand four hundred Highlanders half-armed, who charged him sword in hand with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the King's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; the general officers having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream

stream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expence; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the King's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among these Colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity: and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel. From this victory the Pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXX. Charles continued to reside in the palace of Holyrood-house*; and took measures for cutting off

* While he resided at Edinburgh, some of the Presbyterian Clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publickly prayed for

BOOK II. 1745.

off the communication between the castle and the city. General Guest declared that he would demolish the city, unless the blockade should be raised, so as that provision might be carried into the castle. After having waited the return of an express which he had found means to dispatch to Court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing upon the town. Some houses were beaten down, and several persons killed even at the market-cross. The citizens, alarmed at this disaster, sent a deputation to the Prince, entreating him to raise the blockade; and he complied with their request. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandize that was deposited in the King's warehouses at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom should be re-established. The number of his followers daily increased: and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions: but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. By this time, however, the Prince-Pretender was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, Pitsligo; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the Victor, whose army lay encamped at Duddingston, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men

for King George, without suffering the least punishment or molestation. One minister in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being solicited by some Highlanders to pray for their Prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in words to this effect: "And "as for the young Prince, who is come hither in quest of an earthly "crown, grant, O Lord, that he may speedily receive a crown of "glory."

of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the Earls of Wemys and Airly; so that their influence was far from being extensive. Pitsligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest: and great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of Lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the Chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the Pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Fraser whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the Court of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand seven hundred and three. He had renounced his connections with that family; and, in the rebellion immediately after the accession of King George I. approved himself a warm friend to the Protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was, in secret, an enthusiast in Jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the Marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as Envoy from the French King, with several officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that Adventurer*.

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXXI. While the young Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained,

* He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the Chevalier de St. George, the patent of a Duke, and a commission for being Lord-lieutenant of all the Highlands.

the

BOOK II. 1745.

the Ministry of Great-Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powerful Chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but not before he had obtained the sanction of the Legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland: the Lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his Majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for King George, and the Laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, President of the College of Justice at Edinburgh; a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the Pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the Pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that Adventurer's miscarriage. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had

taken

taken arms in behalf of his Majesty; and, by his vigilance, over-awed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops* arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The Parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his Majesty gave them to understand that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the Habeas Corpus act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty: the country regiments were completed; the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government, being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

* They were composed of the forces who had been in garrison at Tournay and Dendermonde when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they should not perform any military function before the first day of January, in the year 1747; so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

cruisers

BOOK II. cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the Pretender in Scotland.

1745.

§ XXXII. This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the West Border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: the keys were delivered to him at Brampton, by the Mayor and Aldermen on their knees. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms: his father was proclaimed King of Great-Britain, and himself Regent, by the Magistrates in their formalities. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. There he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, he established his head quarters. There he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection, and his

his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other publick rejoicings. His supposed intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents: but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broken down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lichfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the rebels, in turning off from Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been atchieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the risque of being enclosed within three armies; each greatly superior to his own in number and artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the King resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, Field-mareschal, and Commander in Chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some Romish Priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II.

1745.

titioners of the law, headed by the Judges, weavers of Spital-Fields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed a very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England: they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman Catholicks, and other friends of the House of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution: and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

§ XXXIII. This state of suspense was of short duration. The young Pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no step to excite an insurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invasion: his Court was divided into factions: the Highland Chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself with

with a handful of men, hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents: and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the North, superior in number to those by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby; and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. On the ninth their vanguard arrived at Manchester: on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while General Wade began his march from Ferrybridge in Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan; he, therefore, repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached General Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the Duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the Duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down; the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were over-

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

BOOK II. 1745.

taken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by Lord John Murray; who at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss. On the nineteenth day of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the Pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the Duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the Duke returned to London.

§ XXXIV. The Pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men under the command of the Earl of Home. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling,

Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the Dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as General of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head quarters at Perth, where he was re-nforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprize a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his Majesty. He convoyed provisions to Fort-Augustus and Fort-William: he secured the person of Lord Lovat, who still temporised, and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape. The Laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprized and routed by Lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary: and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by Lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which General Blakeney commanded: but, his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

CHAP. VIII. 1745.

§ XXXV. By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of General Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling-Castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth day of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned

BOOK II. 1745.

toned about Bannockburn. On the seventeenth day of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the King's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention. Such was his obstinacy, self-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he slighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and design, firmly believing they durst not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. Some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the Pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reserve, consisting of the regiment of Lord John Drummond, and the Irish picquets. These reinforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time: and they again disordered the foot in their retreat. They set fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which last had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation. In all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not General Huske, and Brigadier Cholmondeley, rallied part of some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, from whence they

retired

retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, Colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston-pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts*.

§ XXXVI. General Hawley, who had boasted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action: but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his Sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a General in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested, that the appearance of a Prince of the Blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom: he, therefore, began to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while the French minister at the Hague having represented to the States-General, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great-Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recall them, rather than come to an open rupture with his Most Christian Majesty. In the room of those troops six thousand Hessians were

* Sir Peter Halket, Captain Lucy Scot, Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his Majesty.

trans-

BOOK II. transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their Prince, Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britanick Majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his Royal Highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their Prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted. He hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort-Augustus, which he in a little time reduced. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Sterling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

1745. An. 1746.

§ XXXVII. While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprized a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The Prince-

Pretender

Pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attack the Duke of Cumberland: but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the King's garrison in Fort-William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by Brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service: but the place was so vigorously maintained by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprize. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the Duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the Earl was obliged to take shelter in the Isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his Majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surprised at Montrose was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the Pretender. In the same county, the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAP. VIII. 1746.

CHAP. IX.

§ I. *The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.* § II. *The Duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort-Augustus.* § III. *The Prince-Pretender escapes to France.* § IV. *Convulsion in the ministry.* § V. *Liberality of the Commons.* § VI. *Trial of the rebels. Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, are beheaded on Tower-hill.* § VII. *The States-General alarmed at the progress of the French in the Netherlands.* § VIII. *Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.* § IX. *Reduces the strong fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied army at Raucoux.* § X. *The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese.* § XI. *Don Philip is worsted at Codogno; and afterwards at Porto Freddo.* § XII. *The Austrians take possession of Genoa. Count Brown penetrates into Provence.* § XIII. *The Genoese expel the Austrians from their city.* § XIV. *Madras in the East-Indies taken by the French.* § XV. *Expedition to the coast of Bretagne, and attempt upon Port L'Orient.* § XVI. *Naval transactions in the West-Indies. Conferences at Breda.* § XVII. *Vast supplies granted by the Commons of England.* § XVIII. *Parliament dissolved.* § XIX. *The French and Allies take the field in Flanders.* § XX. *Prince of Orange elected Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces.* § XXI. *The Confederates defeated at Laffeldt:* § XXII. *Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.* § XXIII. *The Austrians undertake the siege of Genoa, which, however, they abandon.* § XXIV. *The Chevalier de Belleisle slain in the attack of Exiles.* § XXV. *A French squadron defeated and taken by the Admirals Anson and Warren.* § XXVI. *Admiral Hawke obtains another victory over the French at sea.* § XXVII.

§ XXVII. *Other naval transactions.* § XXVIII. *Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.* § XXIX. *Compliant temper of the new Parliament. Preliminaries signed.* § XXX. *Preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands.* § XXXI. *Siege of Maestricht. Cessation of arms.* § XXXII. *Transactions in the East and West-Indies.* § XXXIII. *Conclusion of the Definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

§ I. IN the beginning of April, the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage is not easy to be conceived: but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His Royal Highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprize the Duke's army at day break: for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the fifteenth the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters: but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the Duke's camp before sun-rise. The design being thus frustrated, the

CHAP. IX. 1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

Prince-Pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to measure back his way to Culloden: at which place he had no sooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provision; and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repose, however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner. Their Prince receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the sixteenth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the Duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order: and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the King's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the Duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French picquets on their left, covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a close and regular fire; and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the Pretender's standard displayed; the rest were routed with great slaughter; and their Prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies: and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain or wounded on the field, and in the pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken: and in a few days Lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination, the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquished Adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horsemen; he crossed the water of Nairn, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Struttharick, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever out-lived. Thus, in one short hour, all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished. One would almost imagine, the conductors of this desperate enterprize had conspired their

CHAP. IX. 1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might have opposed the Duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey; they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good prospect of success. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong reinforcement, which was actually in full march to their assistance. But they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies: they obeyed the dictates of despair, and wilfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houses of Parliament congratulated his Majesty on the auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their publick thanks to his Royal Highness, which were transmitted to him by the Speakers; and the Commons, by bill, added five-and-twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

§ II. Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the Duke took possession of Inverness, where six-and-thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the Lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness. They did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of Lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the Lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined

in

in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, were seized, and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquire had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murry, the Pretender's Secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the gaols of Great-Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crouded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannick Majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither

CHAP. IX.

1746.

BOOK II.

neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolution.

1746.

§ III. The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror: what then must have been the sensation of the fugitive Prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in women's attire, and even passed though the midst of his enemies unknown. But, understanding his disguise was discovered, he asssumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses maintained the most amazing equanimity and good

good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and some other Irish adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and on the twentieth day of September, this unfortunate Prince embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and after having passed unseen, by means of a thick fog, through a British squadron commanded by Admiral Lestock, and been chased by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it still more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance and eagerness of the government been relaxed, in consequence of a report, that he had already fallen among some persons that were slain by a volley from one of the Duke's detachments.

§ IV. Having thus explained the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings in Parliament. The necessary steps being taken for quieting the intestine commotions of the kingdom, the two Houses began to convert their attention to the affairs of the continent. On the fourteenth day of January, the King repaired to the House of Peers, and in a speech from the throne gave his Parliament to understand, that the States-General had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the further progress of their enemies; and even concerted measures for that purpose. He declared it was with regret that he asked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the publick credit; and expressed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity. He

BOOK II. 1746.

was favoured with loyal addresses, couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection: but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. The Earl of Granville had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his Sovereign favoured his pretensions. The two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius, and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration: they even resolved to strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the office of State. Some of these were personally disagreeable to his Majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments. The Earl of Granville was appointed Secretary of State, and resumed the reigns of administration: but finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him; foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in Parliament; and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his Majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party. The seals were re-delivered to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington: Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were reinstated in their respective employments; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government. William Pitt, Esq. was appointed Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of Paymaster-General of the forces; at the same time the King declared him a Privy-Counsellor. This gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission; but fate reserved him a more important station. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of Parliament, when

when he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, where he soon outshone all his compatriots. He displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, an irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. It flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition: but his more substantial praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country. CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ V. The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the House of Commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the Landgrave. They granted three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expence of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about three-and-thirty thousand pounds in subsidies to the Electors of Mentz and Cologn; and five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his Majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and Exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of Parliament.

§ VI. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned

BOOK II.

1746.

concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-Common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland: eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the Lord Chancellor presiding as Lord High-Steward for the occasion. The two Earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetick speeches recommended themselves to his Majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connections, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge.

Balmerino

Balmerino waved this plea, and summitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromatie's life was spared: but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments; he had been educated in Revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred up to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and resolute; he eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Ratcliffe, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: he refused to ackowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his Most Christian Majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the eighth day of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the Commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the Lord High-Steward. John Murray, Secretary to the Prince-Pretender, and some of his own domesticks appearing against him, he was convicted of high treason, and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" He surveyed the crowd with

CHAP. IX. 1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

§ VII. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided, being now united in one body, exerted itself with great vigour and rapidity. The States-General were overwhelmed with consternation. Notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condescension with which they had soothed and supplicated the French Monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the Republick were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed. The States were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the spring. The Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigour. The common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendor of greatness, and fully persuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the Prince of Orange as their Stadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a Stadtholder, the neighbourhood of a French army, and the seditious disposition

position of the populace. An Ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republick, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannick Majesty, that the Allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The King was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy. CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ VIII. The King of France, with his general, the Count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the Allies, who, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were entrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Mareschal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements. He carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that, notwithstand a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh day of June, in about eight-and-twenty days after the place had been invested. Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping. The French King found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with

BOOK II. 1746.

with all its fortifications. St. Guislain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp: so that by the middle of July the French King was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

§ IX. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under Count Palfi, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the Prince of Waldeck. The generals, supposing the next storm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth day of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of August, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the Confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Mareschal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then Prince Charles, retiring across the Maese, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested. The trenches were opened on the second day of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution: but the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks. Mean while the allied army encamped at Maestricht were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Mease

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on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards Mareschal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Mestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But Count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the Count de Clermont, determined to bring the Confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar; while he took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, they drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock Prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence was overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the Allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French General a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawford* and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas,

CHAP. IX. 1746.

* This nobleman, so remarkable for his courage and thirst of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary instance of presence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and some volunteers, accompanied by his aide-du-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; and fell in upon one of their advanced guards. The sergeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the Earl first perceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the sergeant, and assuming the character of a French General, told him in that language, that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties? and being answered in the negative, "Very well (said "he) be upon your guard; and if you should be attacked, I will take "care that you shall be sustained." So saying he and his company retired before the sergeant could recover himself from the surprise occasioned

BOOK II.

1746.

Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The Allies passing the Maese, took up their winter quarters in the Duchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

§ X. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the King of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Mareschal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the Count de Gages, were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The King of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the Prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantua. In February, Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighbourhood of

sioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake; for the incident was that very day publickly mentioned in the French army. The Prince of Tingray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with Mareschal Count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with a facetious compliment to his old friend the Earl of Crawford. He wished his Lordship joy of being a French General, and said he could not help being displeased with the sergeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his Lordship's company at dinner.

Genoa.

Genoa. On the other side, Don Philip and Count Gages, abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Maillebois. CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ XI. Before this junction was effected, the Spanish General, Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of seven thousand Austrians posted at Codogno. Don Philip, finding himself at the head of two-and-fifty thousand men by his junction with the French General, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, before they should be reinforced by his Sardinian Majesty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigour till morning. Then they quitted their entrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the King of Sardinia assumed the chief command; and Prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the Marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese. The King of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side; while the Marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia.

BOOK II. 1746.

They forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under General Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a good number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men killed upon the spot, including the gallant General Bernclau. The victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six-and-twenty thousand only into the territories of Genoa.

§ XII. The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation: for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of Count Gages, recalled that General, and sent the Marquis De las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the mean time, the victorious Confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December: and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected

jected to the most cruel contributions. The Marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the King of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but, that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was entrusted to Count Brown, an Austrain General of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the Mareschal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of Count Brown; and this General, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river, without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contibution, Baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September: but Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the Confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, Count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

§ XIII. The court of Vienna, which has always patronised oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its exactions were so rigorously put into execution, that the people were reduced to dispair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The Marquis

BOOK II. 1746.

Marquis de Botta acted with caution and spirit: but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Brochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a sea port town belonging to that Republick; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

§ XIV. The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East-Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September by the French commodore, De la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would probably have shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America, though it was a scene that seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebeck, the capital of Canada, situated upon the river St. Laurence. Commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North-America, empowering them to rise companies to join the armament from England; and eight thousand troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this

this expedition. But their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far advanced to risque the great ships on the boisterous coast of North America. That the armament, however, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent upon the coast of Bretagne, on the supposition that Port L'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company, might be surprised; or, that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian General in Provence.

CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ XV. The naval force intended for the service consisted of sixteen great ships, and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store ships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed Admiral of the blue division. Six battalions of land troops with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General Sinclair; and the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September. On the twentieth the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port L'Orient. The militia, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of two thousand, and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation: but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events they thought proper to retire. Next day General Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port L'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions.

These

BOOK II. 1746.

These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English General resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprise. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by scalade: but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour: new works were raised with great industry; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and Admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, General Sinclair abandoned the siege. Having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England,

land, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-Bay, where they destroyed the Ardent, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns: and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the Admiral and General continued till the seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleets sailed from the French coast: the Admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

§ XVI. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demonstrated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well timed, and vigorously conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draft-horses, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of weather in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The British squadrons in the West Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant-ships, and their convoy, to pass by his squadron unmolested; and Commodore Mitchel behaved scandalously in a rencontre with the French squadron under the conduct of Monsieur de Conflans, who in his return to Europe took the Severn, an English ship of fifty guns. The cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were

BOOK II. 1746.

were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two-and-twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce. The new King of Spain* being supposed well-affected to the British nation, an effort was made to detach him from the interest of France, by means of the Marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favourite, and resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negociation was set on foot with the Court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried; and the influence of the Queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The States-General had for some years endeavoured to promote a pacification by remonstrances, and even intreaties at the Court of Versailles: the French King at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, Great-Britain, France, and Holland, were assembled: but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

§ XVII. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting in November, the King exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigour, that the confede-

* In the month of July, Philip King of Spain dying, in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria-Louisa Gabriela, sister to the late King of Sardinia. He espoused Donna Maria Magdelena, Infanta of Portugal, but had no issue. Philip was but two days survived by his daughter, the Dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christiern VI. King of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederick V. who had married the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the King of Great-Britain.

rate

rate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented; he, likewise, gave them to understand, that the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government had for some years past fallen short of the revenue intended and granted by Parliament; and said he relied on their known affection to find out some method to make good this deficiency. As all those who had conducted the opposition were now concerned in the administration, little or no objection was made to any demand or proposal of the government and its ministers. The Commons having considered the estimates, voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about sixty thousand land forces, including eleven thousand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds to the Empress Queen of Hungary; three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred and ten thousand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thousand Hanoverian auxiliaries; one hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds for six thousand Hessians; subsidies to the Electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the sum of five hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to prosecute the war with advantage. In a word, the supplies amounted to nine millions four hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds; a sum almost incredible, if we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure. It was raised by the usual taxes, reinforced with new impositions on windows, carriages, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the sinking-fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions by transferrable annuities, at an interest of four, and a premium of ten per centum. By reflecting on these enormous grants, one would imagine the ministry had been determined to impoverish the nation: but, from the eagerness and expedition with which the people subscribed for the

CHAP. IX. 1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhaustible. It may not be amiss to observe, that the supplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greatest annual sum that was raised during the reign of Queen Anne, though she maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great-Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh harvests of glory and advantage; whereas this war had proved an almost uninterrupted series of events big with disaster and dishonour. During the last two years, the naval expence of England had exceeded that of France about five millions sterling; though her fleets had not obtained one signal advantage over the enemy at sea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a prey to her declared adversaries and professed friends. Before the end of summer, she numbered among her mercenaries two Empresses, five German Princes, and a powerful Monarch, whom she hired to assist her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themselves were immediately interested, and she had no more than a secondary concern. Had these fruitless subsidies been saved; had the national revenue been applied with economy to national purposes; had it been employed in liquidating gradually the publick incumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and securing the colonies, and extending trade and navigation; corruption would have become altogether unnecessary, and disaffection would have vanished: the people would have been eased of their burthens, and ceased to complain: commerce would have flourished, and produced such affluence as must have raised Great-Britain to the highest pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalship or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours: oppressed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending

Potentates

Potentates would have appealed to her decision; and she would have shone the universal arbitress of Europe. How different is her present situation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people discontented, and the sinews of her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering negociations: she involves herself rashly in foreign quarrels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous precipitation; she is even deserted by her wonted vigour, steadiness, and intrepidity: she grows vain, fantastical, and pusillanimous: her arms are despised by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Christendom. CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ XVIII. The King, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the publick expence, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The House of Commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of economy, by which the annual sum of seventy thousand pounds was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the King and the great council of the nation, his Majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present Parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its first meeting. The ministry affected to insinuate, that the States-General were unwilling to concur with his Majesty in vigorous measures against France, during the existence of a Parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion. The Allies of Great-Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly, which had supplied them so liberally, saw with concern, that, according to law, it would soon be dismissed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purposes. In order to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new election,

BOOK II. 1746.

tion, before the malcontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the business of the session was dispatched, the King having given the Royal Assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in

An. 1747.

the month of June, with an affectionate speech, that breathed nothing but tenderness and gratitude. The Parliament was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenure of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the Revolution. In the Highlands they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act these mountaineers were legally emancipated from slavery: but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature which granted a valuable consideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited estates indeed, were divided into small farms, and let by the government on leases at an under value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their superiors. Had manufactures and fisheries been established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry; and in a little time been effectually detached from all their slavish connections.

§ XIX. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague, between the

the Duke of Cumberland and the States-General of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They, therefore, determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied Powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots, however, were not roused into this exertion, until all their remonstrances had failed at the Court of Versailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English Ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed: for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United Provinces. In February, the Duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they took the field in three separate bodies. His Royal Highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head quarters at the village of Tiberg: the Prince of Waldeck was posted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and Mareschal Bathiani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time created Mareschal general of France, continued his troops within their cantonment at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, declaring, that when the allied army should be weakened by sickness and mortality, he would convince the Duke of Cumberland, that the first duty of a general is to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April this fortunate Commander took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men: and the Count de Clermont

BOOK II. 1747.

Clermont commanded a separate body of nineteen battalions and thirty squadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the sixteenth day of the month, with seven-and-twenty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States, intimating that his master was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war; but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the Republick: he likewise declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take possession should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succours.

§ XX. While the States deliberated upon this declaration, Count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewise the fate of Sas-van Ghent, while the Marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorously defended by two English battalions: but they were overpowered, and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and Count Lowendahl undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French General took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottommed boats for a descent on the island of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation. They saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron

stationed at the Swin, under the command of Commodore Mitchel*, who, by means of his sloops, tenders, and small craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowdendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to despair, began to clamour loudly against their Governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security. The friends of the Prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged their discontent, and exaggerated the danger; they reminded them of the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, when the French King was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the Republick was saved by the choice of a Stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces; they extolled his virtue and ability; his generosity, his justice, his unshaken love to his country. The people in several towns, inflamed by such representations to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the Prince of Orange Stadtholder. He himself, in a letter to the States of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the province. On the twenty-eighth day of April he was nominated Captain-General and Admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the second day of May, the Prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the States-General, invested with the power and dignity of Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army: a council of war was established

CHAP. IX. 1747.

* Not the person who commanded in the West-Indies.

BOOK II. for inquiring into the conduct of the Governors who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

1747.

§ XXI. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-up-Zoom and Maestricht; and Mareschal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French King arrived at Brussels; and his General resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the Confederates perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the Allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the Confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musquetry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The Confederates were driven out of the village: yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, Count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and maintained

maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: Prince Waldeck led up the centre: Mareschal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the Confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The Duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with such intrepidity and success that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Mestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The Confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas the French General purchased

CHAP. IX. 1747.

BOOK II. 1747.

the victory at a much greater expence. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their Generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the Count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, Mareschal Bathiani asked permission of the Commander in Chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprize. No regard was paid to this proposal: but the superiour asked in his turn, where the Mareschal would be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust: the subsequent disposition has likewise been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

§ XXII. The Confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the Duchy of Limburgh, so as to cover Maestricht; while the French King remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Mareschal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached Count Lowendahl with six-and-thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the Governor to surrender. The Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled; he entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old Baron Cronstrom, whom the Stadtholder had appointed Governor

vernor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity: and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen. The French General lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an intermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered; the town was laid in ashes: the trenches were filled with carnage; nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French General resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable: and on that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason Count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack, before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning on the sixteenth day of September, the signal was made

CHAP. IX. 1747.

BOOK II. 1747.

made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fossé, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprized by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the States-General, were assembled in the market place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. Then they brought off the old Governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French King was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, than he promoted him to the rank of Mareschal of France; appointed Count Saxe Governor of the conquered Netherlands; and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

§ XXIII. In Italy, the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the Mareschal de Belleisle saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice. He met with little or no resistance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; while General Brown

with

with eight-and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under Count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the Marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French King had sent them supplies, succours, and engineers, with the Duke de Boufflers, as Ambassador to the republick, who likewise acted as Commander in Chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Austrian General assembled his troops in the Milanese: having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Rivera was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the revolters to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republick had fifty-four thousand men in arms, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision; that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the Court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed by the Kings of Great-Britain and Sardinia, the republick of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides; a furious sally was made by the Duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylemberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had he not been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the King of Sardinia and Count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprize,

CHAP. IX. 1747.

BOOK II. 1747.

enterprize, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of Mareschal de Belleisle. Accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian Majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

§ XXIV. While the Mareschal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penerate in Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese entrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier de Belleisle, with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks. Impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous General seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's entrenchments. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musquet balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their Commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sesteries, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The Mareschal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune, than he retreated towards the Var, to join the

the troops from Exilles, while the King of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion; but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions, to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated: and thus ended the campaign.

§ XXV. In this manner was the French King baffled in his projects upon Italy; nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the Commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the Commodore de la Jonquiere; and the other destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great-Britain, being apprised of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear-Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by La Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceed on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise

BOOK II. 1747.

likewise drawn up in line of battle; but Mr. Warren, perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised Admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engageing, otherwise the French would, in all probability, escape by favour of the night. The proposal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The Admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in the action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these Captain Granville, Commander of the ship Defiance. He was nephew to the Lord Vicount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honour and patriotism. Eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon ball. He submitted to his fate with the most heroick resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the Rear-Admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which was brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the Bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the Order of the Bath.

§ XXVI. About the middle of June, Commodor Fox, with six ships of war, cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Gallicia, took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after

they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French King sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsieur de Letendeur. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French Commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships, and the frigates, to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon Admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French Captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution; and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including Captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under Lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacifick Ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, Amiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to Commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands; with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward-

CHAP. IX. 1747.

BOOK II. 1747.

outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the Board of Admiralty declared, that all his Captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be subjected to an enquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgement: but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of Admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still laboured under a suspension for that which had been successfully practised in both these late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

§ XXVII. In the Mediterranean, Vice-Admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthagena; assisted the Austrian General on the coast of Villafranca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved upon Rear-Admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ships bound to North-America, fell in with the Glorioso, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western-Isles. She had sailed from the Havannah, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each Captain done his duty. Captain Erskine in the Warwick of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was entirely disabled; but being unsustained by his consort,

consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the Glorioso arrived in safety at Ferrol: there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by Captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation: but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the Glorioso, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of Captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short, but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent, with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East-Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprize of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England, therefore, resolved to equip a fresh armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year, the British cruizers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss of Great-Britain in the same time, did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

1747.

§ XXVIII.

BOOK II. 1747.

§ XXVIII. All the belligerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which all, in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the King of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject to the deputies of the States-General. The signal success of the British arms at sea confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West-Indies rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruizers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of the navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a Stadtholder had united the whole power of the States-General against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were entirely frustrated by the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, and the re-establishment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburgh: the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The Parliament of England granted, and the nation paid such incredible sums as enabled their Sovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannick Majesty and the Czarina,

Czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the Earl of Hyndford, Ambassador from the King of Great-Britain at the Court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the Czarina engaged to hold in readiness thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the Confederates, on the first requisition. The States-General acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one-fourth of the subsidy. His most Christian Majesty, moved by these considerations, made further advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the King of Great-Britain. CHAP. IX. 1747.

§ XXIX. The elections for the new Parliament in England had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the Duke of Newcastle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration. Both houses were assembled on the tenth day of November, when Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the Commons. The session was opened as usual, by a speech from the throne, congratulating them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His Majesty gave them to understand, that a congress would be speedily opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negociation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate. Opposition now languished at their feet. The Duke of Bedford was become

BOOK II. 1747.

become a courtier, and in a little time appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office, which he now resigned; and the Earl of Sandwich no longer harangued against the administration. This new House of Commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies for the Queen of Hungary, the Czarina, the King of Sardinia; the Electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttle: the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to re-imburse them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton: five hundred thousand pounds were given to his Majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandize imported into Great-Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The Highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed, for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to inforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act for the more effectual punishment of high-treason in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice of insuring French and

Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under severe penalties; and this step of the British Parliament accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session, for the benefit of the publick; and among these we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of North-America; an article for which Great-Britain used to pay two hundred thousand pounds yearly to the subjects of France: The session was closed on the thirteenth day of May, when the King declared to both Houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament his Majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a Regency to rule the realm in his absence.

CHAP. IX. 1747. An. 1748.

§ XXX. The articles might have been made much less unfavourable to Great-Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the Czarina; and if the Confederates had acted with more vigour and expedition in the beginning of the campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end of the preceding summer, in their own gallies which had been lying ready for use since the month of July. Had this expedient been used, the Russian troops would have joined the Confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accom-

BOOK II. 1748.

plished till Midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague, in January, by the respective ministers of the Allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insurrection. The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the States-General, seeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confusion, authorised the Prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient. They presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary Stadtholder and Captain-General of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the Upper quarter of Guelderland; and the East-India company appointed him director and Govenor-General of their commerce and settlements in the Indies. Thus invested with authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new modelling, augmenting, and assembling, the troops of the Republick. The Confederates knew that the Count de Saxe had a design upon Maestricht; the Austrian General Bathiani made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, entreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress. He in the month of January proposed that the Duke of Cumberland should cross the sea, and confer with the prince of Orange on this subject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with seventy thousand men, from all attacks of the enemy; but his representations seemed to have made very little impression on those to whom they were addressed. The Duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February: part of March was elapsed, before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops

troops and artillery; and the last drafts from the foot guards were not embarked till the middle of August. CHAP. IX. 1748.

§ XXXI. The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremond, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men; and the French army invested Maestricht, without opposition on the third day of April. The garrison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governour, Baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies: but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered way, and there effected a lodgment, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops: but, next day they were entirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at a Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his Christian Majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his General, on condition that it should be restored with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war: and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by Prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial Majesties; then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French King declared, that should they advance hither, he would demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom. This dispute was

BOOK II. 1748.

referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own country; and that the French King should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued till the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time seven-and-thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspicion of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective Admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material transaction distinguished the campaign in Italy. The French and Spanish troops who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republick, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the Duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the Duke de Boufflers; while Mareschal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrains and Piedmontese, under General Leutrum. At the same time General Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and re-commence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

§ XXXII. In the East-Indies, Rear-Admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army

army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He prosecuted the enterprise with great spirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be re-embarked; and raising the siege on the sixth day of October, returned to Fort St. David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great-Britain was more successful in the West-Indies. Rear-Admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of Captain Dent, who was tried in England by a Court-Martial, and honourably acquitted. On the first day of October, the same Admiral cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the Admiral Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships; one of which struck to the British Admiral, and the other

CHAP. IX. 1748.

BOOK II. 1748.

other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with misbehaviour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a Court-Martial was the consequence of the mutual accusations. Those who adhered to the Commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against each other, with the most rancorous resentment. The Admiral himself did not escape uncensured: two of his captains were reprimanded: but Captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animosities did not end with the Court-Martial. A bloodless encounter happened between the Admiral and Captain Powlett: but Captain Innes and Captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-Park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his Majesty's pardon. No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas, during the course of this summer. In January, indeed, the Magnanime, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruisers, after an obstinate engagement: and the privateers took a considerable number of merchant ships from the enemy.

§ XXXIII. The Plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that of Westphalia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That the prisoners on each side should be mutually released without ransom, and all conquests restored: That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Quastalla, should be ceded as a settlement to the Infant Don Philip, and the heirs

heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the Two Sicilies, or his dying without male-issue, that they should revert to the House of Austria: That the King of Great-Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape-Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannick Majesty should have atchieved in the East or West-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: That the assiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war; that Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continuing on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the King of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatick sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for his mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great-Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the Allies without conduct, spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and out-

CHAP. IX. 1748.

witted

BOOK II. witted by the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without sustaining a defeat. Their vast armies, paid by Great-Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortress reduced after another, until the whole country was subdued; and as their Generals fought, their Plenipotentiaries negociated. At a time when their affairs began to wear the most promising aspect, when the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut of all their resources of commerce; the British ministers seemed to treat, without the least regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they subscribed to the insolent demand of sending the nobles of the realm to grace the court, and adorn the triumphs of her enemy; and they tamely gave up her conquests in North-America, of more consequence to her traffick than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important isle of Cape-Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the East-Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence had been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expence of blood and treasure*, disgrace upon disgrace, an additional

1748.

* Such an expensive war could not be maintained without a very extraordinary exertion of a commercial spirit: accordingly we find that Great-Britain, since the death of King William, has risen under her pressures with increased vigour and perseverance. Whether it be owing to the natural progression of trade extending itself from its origin to its *acme* or *ne plus ultra*, or to the encouragement given by the administration to monied men of all denominations; or to necessity, impelling those who can no longer live on small incomes to risque their capitals in traffick, that they may have a chance for bettering their fortunes; or, lastly, to a concurrence of all these causes; certain it is, the national exports and imports have been sensibly

additional load of grievous imposition, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty millions sterling.

sibly increasing for these forty years; the yearly medium of wollen exports, from the year 1718 to 1743 inclusive, amounted to about three millions and a half, which was a yearly increase on the medium, of five hundred thousand pounds above the medium from 1718 to 1724. From this article, the reader will conceive the prodigious extent and importance of the British commerce.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ I. *Reflections on the peace.* § II. *The Prince of Wales's adherents join the opposition.* § III. *Character of the ministry.* § IV. *Sessions opened.* § V. *Debate on the address.* § VI. *Supplies granted.* § VII. *Exorbitant demand of the Empress Queen opposed.* § VIII. *Violent contest concerning the seamen's bill.* § IX. *Objections to the mutiny bill.* § X. *Bill for limiting the term of a soldier's service.* § XI. *Measures taken with respect to the African trade.* § XII. *Scheme for improving the British fishery.* § XIII. *Attempt to open the commerce to Hudson's bay.* § XIV. *Plan for manning the navy.* § XV. *Fruitless motions made by the opposition.* § XVI. *Severities exercised upon some students at Oxford.* § XVII. *Duke of Newcastle chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.* § XVIII. *Tumults in different parts of the kingdom.* § XIX. *Scheme for a settlement in Nova-Scotia.* § XX. *Town of Hallifax founded.* § XXI. *French attempt to settle the island of Tobago.* § XXII. *Rejoicings for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* § XXIII. *Pretender's eldest son arrested at Paris.*

ris. § XXIV. *Appearance of a rupture between Russia and Sweden.* § XXV. *Interposition of the King of Prussia.* § XXVI. *Measures taken by the French ministry.* § XXVII. *Conduct of the different European powers.* § XXVIII. *Insolence of the Barbary Corsairs* § XXIX. *Disturbances in England.* § XXX. *Session opened.* § XXXI. *Subjects of debate.* § XXXII. *Scheme for reducing the interest of the national debt.* § XXXIII. *Act passed for that purpose.* § XXXIV. *New mutiny bill.* § XXXV. *Bill for encouraging the importation of iron from America.* § XXXVI. *Erection of the British herring fishery.* § XXXVII. *New African Company.* § XXXVIII. *Westminster election.* § XXXIX. *Earthquakes in London.* § XL. *Pestilential fever at the session in the Old-Bailey.* § XLI. *Disputes between Russia and Sweden.* XLII. *Plan for electing the Arch-duke Joseph King of the Romans.* § XLIII. *Opposition of the King of Prussia.* § XLIV. *Disputes with the French about the limits of Nova-Scotia.* § XLV. *Treaty with Spain.* § XLVI. *Session opened.* § XLVII. *Debate on the address.* § XLVIII. *Supplies granted.* § XLIX. *Death and Character of the Prince of Wales.* § L. *Settlement of a Regency, in case of a minor Sovereign.* § LI. *General naturalization bill.* § LII. *Censure passed upon a paper intitled Constitutional Queries.* § LIII. *Proceedings of the Commons on the Westminster election.* § LIV. *Mr. Murray sent prisoner to Newgate.* § LV. *Session closed. Stile altered.*

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ I. THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however unstable or inglorious it might appear to those few who understood the interests, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheless not unwelcome to the nation in general. The British ministry will always find it more difficult to satisfy the

BOOK III. 1748.

the people at the end of a successful campaign, than at the conclusion of an unfortunate war. The English are impatient of miscarriage and disappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this period they were tired of the burthens, and sick of the disgraces, to which they had been exposed in the course of seven tedious campaigns. They had suffered considerable losses and interruption in the article of commerce, which was the source of their national opulence and power; they knew it would necessarily be clogged with additional duties for the maintenance of a continental war, and the support of foreign subsidiaries; and they drew very faint presages of future success either from the conduct of their allies, or the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by these considerations, the restoration of a free trade, the respite from that anxiety and suspense which the prosecution of a war never fails to engender, and the prospect of a speedy deliverance from discouraging restraint and oppressive impositions, were advantages that sweetened the bitter draft of a dishonourable treaty, and induced the majority of the nation to acquiesce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with some degree of satisfaction and applause.

§ II. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications at Aix-la-Chapelle the armies were broken up; the Allies in the Netherlands withdrew their several proportions of troops; the French began to evacuate Flanders; and the English forces were reembarked for their own country. His Britannick Majesty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate in Kent, after a dangerous passage; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he opened the session of Parliament. By this time the misunderstanding between the first two personages of the Royal Family had been increased by a fresh succession of matter. The Prince of Wales had held a court of Stannary, in quality of Duke of Cornwall; and revived some claims

claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been admitted, would have greatly augmented his influence among the Cornish boroughs. These efforts roused the jealousy of the Administration, which had always considered them as an interest wholly dependent on the Crown: and, therefore, the pretensions of his Royal Highness were opposed by the whole weight of the Ministry. His adherents, resenting these hostilities as an injury to their Royal Master, immediately joined the remnant of the former opposition in Parliament, and resolved to counteract all the ministerial measures that should fall under their cognizance; at least, they determined to seize every opportunity of thwarting the servants of the Crown, in every scheme or proposal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation. This band of auxiliaries was headed by the Earl of E—t, Dr. Lee, and Mr. N—t. The first possessed a species of eloquence rather plausible than powerful: he spoke with fluency and fire: his spirit was bold and enterprising, his apprehension quick, and his repartee severe. Dr. Lee was a man of extensive erudition and irreproachable morals, particularly versed in the civil law, which he professed, and perfectly well acquainted with the constitution of his country. Mr. N—t was an orator of middling abilities, who harangued upon all subjects indiscriminately, and supplied with confidence what he wanted in capacity: he had been at some pains to study the business of the House, as well as to understand the machine of government; and was tolerably well heard, as he generally spoke with an appearance of good humour, and hazarded every whimsical idea, as it rose in his imagination. But Lord Bolingbroke is said to have been the chief spring, which, in secret, actuated the deliberations of the Prince's court. That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a publick life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited like a sainted shrine by all the

CHAP. I. 1748.

BOOK III. 1748.

distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition. There he was cultivated and admired for the eloquence of his manners, and the charms of his conversation. The Prince's curiosity was first captivated by his character, and his esteem was afterwards secured by the irresistible address of that extraordinary personage, who continued in a regular progression to insinuate himself still farther and farther into the good graces of his Royal Patron. How far the conduct of his Royal Highness was influenced by the private advice of this nobleman we shall not pretend to determine: but, certain it is, the friends of the ministry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of those measures which the Prince adopted; and that, under the specious pretext of attachment to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, he concealed his real aim, which was to perpetuate the breach in the Royal family. Whatever his sentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old ministerial clamour, that a man cannot be well affected to the King, if he pretends to censure any measure of the administration.

§ III. The weight which the opposition derived from these new confederates in the House of Commons was still greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability that sustained every ministerial project. Mr. Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally esteemed as a man of honesty and candour, actuated by a sincere love for his country, though he had been educated in erroneous principles of government, and in some measure obliged to prosecute a fatal system, which descended to him by inheritance. At this time he numbered Mr. Pitt among his fellow-ministers, and was moreover supported by many other individuals of distinguished abilities; among whom the first place in point of genius was due to Mr. M. who executed the office of Solicitor-general. This

gentleman, the son of a noble family in North-Britain, had raised himself to great eminence at the bar, by a most keen intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance; an innate sagacity, that saved the trouble of intense application; and an irresistible stream of eloquence, that flowed pure and classical, strong and copious, reflecting, in the most conspicuous point of view, the subjects over which it rolled, and sweeping before it all the slime of formal hesitation, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery. Yet, the servants of the Crown were not so implicitly attached to the first minister as to acquiesce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the support of every court-measure indiscriminately. This was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predecessor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-servants, but insisted on sacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and disposal. That sordid deference to a minister no longer characterised the subordinate instruments of the administration. It was not unusual to see the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the Secretary at War opposing with great vehemence a clause suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After all, if we coolly consider those arguments which have been bandied about, and retorted with such eagerness and acrimony in the House of Commons, and divest them of those passionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the spirit of opposition alone had produced, we shall find very little left for the subject of dispute, and sometimes be puzzled to discover any material source of disagreement.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ IV. In the month of November his Majesty opened the session of Parliament with a speech, acquainting them, That the definitive treaty of peace

was

BOOK III. 1748.

was at length signed by all the parties concerned: That he had made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his own subjects; and procured for his allies the best conditions, which, in the present situation of affairs, could be obtained. He said, he had found a general good disposition in all parties to bring the negociation to a happy conclusion: and observed, that we might promise ourselves a long enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper seasons for lessening the national debt, and strengthening the kingdom against future events, he recommended to the Commons the improvement of the publick revenue, the maintenance of a considerable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. This speech, as usual, was echoed back by an address to the throne from both Houses, containing general expressions of the warmest loyalty and gratitude to his Majesty, and implying the most perfect satisfaction and acquiescence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

§ V. The members in the opposition, according to custom, cavilled at the nature of this address. They observed, that the late pacification was the worst and most inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the English nation had ever subscribed: that it was equally disgraceful, indefinite, and absurd: they said, the British navy had gained such an ascendancy over the French at sea, that the sources of their wealth were already choaked up; that the siege of Maestricht would have employed their arms in the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Russians; and that the accession of these auxiliaries would have thrown the superiority into the scale of the Allies. They did not fail to take notice, that the most important and original object of the war was left wholly undecided; and demonstrated the absurdity of their promising, in the address to make good such

engagements

engagements as his Majesty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what those engagements were. In answer to these objections, the ministers replied, That the peace was in itself rather better than could be expected; and that the smallest delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They affirmed, that the Dutch were upon the point of concluding a neutrality, in consequence of which their troops would have been withdrawn from the allied army; and in that case, even the addition of the Russian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy. They asserted, that if the war had been prolonged another year, the national credit of Great-Britain must have been entirely ruined, many of the publick funds having sunk below par in the preceding season, so that the ministry had begun to despair of seeing the money paid in on the new subscription. With respect to the restoration of Cape-Breton, the limits of Nova-Scotia, and the right of navigating without search in the American seas, which right had been left unestablished in the treaty, they declared, that the first was an unnecessary expence, of no consequence to Great-Britain; and that the other two were points in dispute, to be amicably settled in private conferences by Commissaries duly authorized; but by no means articles to be established by a general treaty.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ VI. What the opposition wanted in strength, it endeavoured to make up with spirit and perseverance. Every ministerial motion and measure was canvassed, sifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed against the single article of superior numbers; and accordingly this was the source of certain triumph in all debates in which the servants of the crown were united. The nation had reason to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expence, considering the number of troops and ships of war which

BOOK III. 1748.

had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty; but they were disagreeably undeceived in finding themselves again loaded with very extraordinary impositions, for the payment of a vast debt which government had contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding the incredible aids granted by Parliament. The committee of supply established four points of consideration, in their deliberations concerning the sums necessary to be raised; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which the Parliament had entered into with his Majesty, and the services undertaken for the success of the war; for discharging debts contracted by government for making good deficiencies; and for defraying the current expence of the year. It appeared, that the nation owed four-and-forty thousand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria; above thirty thousand to the Duke of Brunswick; the like sum to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and near nine thousand pounds to the Elector of Mentz. The Queen of Hungary claimed an arrear of one hundred thousand pounds. The city of Glasgow, in North-Britain, presented a petition, praying to be reimbursed the sum of ten thousand pounds, extorted from that corporation by the son of the Pretender, during the rebellion. One hundred and twelve thousand pounds were owing to the forces in North-America and the East-Indies; besides near half a million due on extraordinary expences incurred by the land forces in America, Flanders, and North-Britain, by the office of Ordnance, and other services of the last year, to which the parliamentary provision did not extend. The remaining debt of the Ordnance amounted to above two hundred and thirty thousand pounds: but the navy-bills could not be discharged for less than four millions. An addition of two millions three hundred and seventy-four thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds fifteen shillings and two pence was also required for the current service of the year. In a word,

word, the whole annual supply exceeded eight millions sterling—a sum at which the whole nation expressed equal astonishment and disgust. It was charged upon the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, annuities on the sinking-fund, an application of one million from that deposit, and the loan of the like sum to be charged on the first aids of next session. The number of seamen was reduced to seventeen thousand, and that of the land forces to eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, including guards and garrisons. CHAP. I. 1748.

§ VII. Every article of expence, however, was warmly disputed by the anti-courtiers; especially the demand of the Queen of Hungary, which was deemed unreasonably exorbitant and rapacious, considering the seas of blood which we had shed, and the immensity of treasure we had exhausted for her benefit: and surely the subjects of this nation had some reason to complain of an indulgence of this nature, granted to a power which they had literally snatched from the brink of ruin—a power whose quarrel they had espoused with a degree of enthusiasm that did much more honour to their gallantry than to their discretion—a power that kept aloof, with a stateliness of pride peculiar to herself and family; and beheld her British auxiliaries fighting her battles at their own expence: while she squandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, those ample subsidies which they advanced in order to maintain her armies, and furnish out her proportion of the war. The leaders of the opposition neglected no opportunity of embittering the triumphs of their adversaries; they inveighed against the extravagance of granting sixteen thousand pounds for the pay of general and staff officers, during a peace that required no such establishment, especially at a juncture when the national incumbrances rendered it absolutely necessary to practise every expedient of

BOOK III. 1748.

œconomy. * They even combated the request of the city of Glasgow, to be indemnified for the extraordinary exaction it underwent from the rebels; though it appeared, from unquestionable evidence, that this extraordinary contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family: that it had always invariably adhered to Revolution principles; and, with an unequalled spirit of loyalty and zeal for the protestant succession, distinguished itself both in the last and preceding rebellion.

§ VIII. But the most violent contest arose on certain regulations which the ministry wanted to establish in two bills, relating to the sea and land service. The first, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of Parliament the laws relating to the navy, was calculated solely with a view of subjecting half-pay officers to martial law—a design which not only furnished the opposition with a plausible handle for accusing the ministers, as intending to encroach upon the constitution, in order to extend the influence of the Crown; but also alarmed the sea-officers to such a degree, that they assembled to a considerable number, with a view to deliberate upon the proper means of defending their privileges and liberties from invasion. The result of their consultations was a petition to the House of Commons, subscribed by three Admirals and forty-seven Captains, not members of Parliament, representing, That the bill in agitation contained several clauses, tending to the injury and dishonour of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his Majesty's service; and that the laws already in force had been always found effectual for securing the service of officers on half-pay upon the most pressing occasions: they, therefore, hoped, that they should not be subjected to new hardships and discouragements; and begged to be heard by their counsel, before the committee of

the whole House, touching such parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themselves and the other officers of his Majesty's navy. This petition was presented to the House by Sir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was seconded by Sir Peter Warren, whose character was universally esteemed and beloved in the nation. This measure had like to have produced very serious consequences. Many commanders and subalterns had repaired to the Admiralty, and threatened, in plain terms, to throw up their commissions in case the bill should pass into a law; and a general ferment was begun among all the subordinate members of the navy. A motion was made, That the petitioners, according to their request, should be heard by their counsel; and this proposal was strongly urged by the first orators of the anti-ministerial association; but the minister, confiding in is own strength, reinforced by the abilities of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. Fox the Secretary at War, strenuously opposed the motion, which, upon a division was thrown out by a great majority. The several articles of the bill were afterwards separately debated with great warmth; and though Mr. Pelham had, with the most disinterested air of candour, repeatedly declared that he required no support even from his own adherents, but that which might arise from reason unrestrained, and full conviction, he, on this occasion, reaped all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the most implicit complaisance. Some plausible amendments of the most exceptionable clauses were offered, particularly, of that which imposed an oath upon the members of every court-martial, that they should not, on any account, disclose the opinions or transactions of any such tribunal. This was considered as a sanction, under which any court-martial might commit the most flagrant acts of injustice and oppression, which even Parliament itself could not redress,

BOOK III. 1748.

redress, because it would be impossible to ascertain the truth, eternally sealed up by this absurd obligation. The amendment proposed was, that the member of a court-martial might reveal the transactions and operations of it, in all cases wherein the courts of justice, as the law now stands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either House of Parliament: a very reasonable mitigation, which, however, was rejected by the majority. Nevertheless, the suspicion of an intended encroachment had raised such a clamour without doors, and diffused the odium of this measure so generally, that the minister thought proper to drop the projected article of war, subjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the jurisdictions of courts-martial; and the bill being also softened in other particulars, during its passage through the Upper-House, at length received the royal assent.

§ IX. The flame which this act had kindled, was rather increased than abated on the appearance of a new mutiny-bill replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the Crown, as well as the authority and power of a military jurisdiction. All the articles of war established since the reign of Charles the second, were submitted to the inspection of the Commons; and in these appeared a gradual spirit of encroachment, almost imperceptibly deviating from the civil institutes of the English constitution, towards the establishment of a military dominion. By this new bill a power was vested in any Commander in Chief, to revise and correct any legal sentence of a court-martial, by which the members of such a court, corresponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered absolutely useless, and the commander in a great measure absolute; for he had not only the power of summoning such officers as he might choose to sit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature; but he was also at liberty to review and

and alter the sentence; so that a man was subject to two trials for the same offence, and the commander in chief was judge both of the guilt and the punishment. By the final clause of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers on half pay; and the same arguments which had been urged against this article in the navy bill, were now repeated and reinforced with redoubled fervour. Many reasons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompence for past services; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that such an article, by augmenting the dependents of the Crown, might be very dangerous to the constitution. On the other hand, the partisans of the ministry asserted, that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee, and that originally all those who enjoyed this indulgence were deemed to be in actual service, consequently subject to martial law. Mr. Pitt, who at this time exercised the office of Paymaster-General with a rigour of integrity unknown to the most disinterested of all his predecessors in that department, espoused the clause in dispute, as a necessary extension of military discipline, which could never be attended with any bad consequence to the liberty of the nation. The remarks which he made on this occasion implied an opinion that our liberties wholly existed in dependence upon the direction of the Sovereign, and the virtue of the army. "To that "virtue (said he) we trust even at this hour, small "as our army is—to that virtue we must have "trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest "opposers could have wished; and without this "virtue, should the Lords, the Commons, and the "People of England entrench themselves behind "parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a "passage to the vitals of the constitution." All the disputed articles of the bill being sustained on the shoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the Upper House, where it excited another violent contest.

BOOK III.

1748.

test. Upon the question whether officers on half-pay had not been subject to martial law, the judges were consulted and divided in their sentiments. The Earl of Bath declared his opinion, that martial law did not extend to reformed officers; and opened all the sluices of his ancient eloquence. He admitted a case which was urged, of seven officers on half-pay, who, being taken in actual rebellion at Preston, in the year 1715, had been executed on the spot by martial law, in consequence of the King's express order. He candidly owned, that he himself was Secretary at War at that period; that he had approved of this order, and even transmitted it to General Carpenter, who commanded at Preston; but now his opinion was entirely changed. He observed, that when the forementioned rebellion first broke out, the House presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would be pleased to employ all half-pay officers, and gratify them with whole pay; and, indeed, all such officers were voted on whole pay, by the House of Commons. They were afterwards apprised of this vote, by an advertisement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to repair to such places as should be appointed; and finally commanded to repair by such a day to those places, on pain of being struck off the half-pay-list. These precautions would have been unnecessary, had they been deemed subject to martial law; and the penalty for non-obedience would not have been merely a privation of their pensions, but they would have fallen under the punishment of death, as deserters from the service. His Lordship distinguished, with great propriety and precision, between a step which had been precipitately taken in a violent crisis, when the publick was heated with apprehension and resentment, and a solemn law concerted at leisure, during the most profound tranquillity. Notwithstanding the spirited opposition of this nobleman, and some attempts to insert additional clauses,

clauses, the bill having undergone a few inconsider- CHAP. I.
able amendments, passed by a very considerable majority. 1748.

§ X. Immediately after the mutiny-bill had passed the Lower House, another fruitless effort was made by the opposition. The danger of a standing army, on whose virtue the constitution of Great-Britain seemed to depend, did not fail to alarm the minds of many who were zealously attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a scheme, which, if executed, would have enabled the legislature to establish a militia that must have answered many national purposes, and acted as a constitutional bulwark against the excesses and ambition of a military standing force, under the immediate influence of government. The scheme which patriotism conceived, was, in all probability, adopted by party. A bill was brought in, limiting the time beyond which no soldier, or non-commissioned officer, should be compelled to continue in the service. Had this limitation taken place, such a rotation of soldiers would have ensued among the common people, that in a few years every peasant, labourer, and inferior tradesman in the kingdom would have understood the exercise of arms; and perhaps the people in general would have concluded that a standing army was altogether unnecessary. A project of this nature could not, for obvious reasons, be agreeable to the administration, and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was postponed from time to time, till the Parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the sequel. Such were the chief subjects of debate between the ministry and the opposition, composed, as we have already observed, of the Prince's servants and the remains of the country party, this last being headed by Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood; the former, a nobleman of distinguished abilities, keen, penetrating,

BOOK III.

ing, eloquent, and sagacious; the other frank, spirited, and sensible.

1748.

§ XI. It must be owned, however, for the honour of the ministry, that if they carried a few unpopular measures with a high hand, they seemed earnestly desirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the ensuing session of Parliament. One of the principal objects of this nature which fell under their cognizance, was the trade to the coast of Guinea; a very important branch of traffick, whether considered as a market of British manufactures, or as the source that supplied the English plantations with negroes. This was originally monopolized by a joint-stock company, which had from time to time derived considerable sums from the legislature; for enabling them the better to support certain forts or castles on the coast of Africa, to facilitate the commerce and protect the merchants. In the sequel, however, the exclusive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national trade, the coast was laid open to all British subjects indiscriminately, on condition of their paying a certain duty towards defraying the expence of the forts and factories. This expedient did not answer the purposes for which it had been contrived. The separate traders instead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, industriously avoided their castles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppression. The company, whether from the misconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted such a load of debts as their stock was unable to discharge. They seemed to neglect the traffick, and allowed their castles to decay. In a word, their credit being exhausted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they presented a petition to the House of Commons, disclosing their distresses, and imploring such assistance as should enable them not only to pay their debts,

but

but also to maintain the forts in a defensible condition. This petition, recommended to the House in a message from his Majesty, was corroborated by another in behalf of the company's creditors. Divers merchants of London, interested in the trade of Africa and the British plantations in America, petitioned the House, that, as the African trade was of the utmost importance to the nation, and could not be supported without forts and settlements, some effectual means should be speedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce. A fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, representing that the security and protection of the trade of Africa must always principally depend upon his Majesty's ships of war being properly stationed on that coast, and seasonably relieved; and that such forts and settlements as might be judged necessary, for marks of sovereignty and possession, would prove a nuisance and a burthen to the trade, should they remain in the hands of any joint-stock company, whose private interest always had been, and ever would be, found incompatible with the interest of the separate and open trader. They therefore prayed, that the said forts might either be taken into his Majesty's immediate possession, and supported by the publick, or committed to the merchants trading on that coast, in such a manner as the House should judge expedient, without vesting in them any other advantage, or right to the commerce, but what should be common to all his Majesty's subjects. This remonstrance was succeeded by another, to the same effect, from the master, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of the society of merchant adventurers within the city of Bristol. All these petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this subject; who agreed to certain resolutions, implying, That the trade to Africa should be free and open; That the British forts and settlements on that coast ought to be maintained, and put under proper direction;

CHAP. I. 1748.

BOOK III. 1748.

direction; and, That, in order to carry on the African trade in the most beneficial manner to these kingdoms, all the British subjects trading to Africa should be united in one open company, without any joint-stock, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on these resolutions, which alarmed the company to such a degree, that they had recourse to another petition, demonstrating their right to the coast of Africa, and expressing their reliance on the justice of the House, that they should not be deprived of their property without an adequate consideration. In a few days a second address was offered by their creditors, complaining of the company's mismanagement, promising to surrender their right, as the wisdom of Parliament should prescribe; praying that their debts might be enquired into; and that the equivalent to be granted for the Company's possessions might be secured and applied, in the first place, for their benefit. The Commons, in consequence of this petition, ordered the Company to produce a list of their debts, together with a copy of their charter, and two remonstrances, which their creditors had presented to them before this application to Parliament. A committee of the whole House, having deliberated on these papers and petitions, and heard the company by their counsel, resolved to give them a reasonable compensation for their charter, lands, forts, settlements, slaves, and effects, to be, in the first place, applied towards the payment of their creditors. A bill being formed accordingly, passed the Commons, and was conveyed to the Upper House, where a great many objections were started; and for the present it was dropped until a more unexceptionable plan should be concerted. In the mean time their Lordships addressed his Majesty, That the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a scheme on this subject, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament at the beginning

ginning of next session: That instant orders should be given for the preserving and securing the forts and settlements on the coast of Guinea belonging to Great-Britain, and, That proper persons should be appointed to examine into the condition of those forts, as well as of the military stores, slaves, and vessels belonging to the African company, so as to make a faithful report of these particulars, with all possible expedition. CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XII. The ministry having professed an inclination, and indeed shown a disposition, to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the Commons resolved to take some steps for encouraging the white fishery along the northern coast of the island, which is an inexhaustible source of wealth to our industrious neighbours the Dutch, who employ annually a great number of hands and vessels in this branch of commerce. The sensible part of the British people, reflecting on this subject, plainly foresaw that a fishery under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legislature, would not only prove a fund of national riches, and a nursery of seamen; but likewise, in a great measure, prevent any future insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, by diffusing a spirit of industry among the natives of that country, who finding it in their power to become independent, on the fruits of their own labour, would soon infranchise themselves from that slavish attachment, by which they had been so long connected with their landlords the chieftains. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to deliberate on the state of the British fishery; and upon their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whale fishery on the coast of Spitsbergen, by a bounty of forty shillings per ton for every ship equipped for that undertaking. The bill having made its way through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North-Britain, began

BOOK III. began to build and fit out ships of great burthen, and peculiar structure, for the purposes of that fishery, which ever since hath been carried on with equal vigour and success. Divers merchants and traders of London having presented to the House of Commons a petition, representing the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fishery, established on proper principles, and carried on with skill and integrity, this remonstrance was referred to a committee, upon whose resolutions a bill was formed; but, before this could be discussed in the House, the Parliament was prorogued, and of consequence this measure proved abortive.

1748.

§ XIII. The next regulation proposed in favour of trade, was that of lying open the commerce of Hudson's-Bay, in the most northern parts of America, where a small monopoly maintained a few forts and settlements, and prosecuted a very advantageous fur trade with the Indians of that continent. It was suggested, that the company had long ago enriched themselves by their exclusive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ships; that, contrary to an express injunction in their charter, they discouraged all attempts to discover a north-west passage to the East-Indies; that they dealt cruelly and perfidiously with the poor Indians who never traded with them, except when compelled by necessity, so that the best part of the fur-trade had devolved to the enemies of Great-Britain; and that their exclusive patent restricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great-Britain. Petitions, that the trade of Hudson's-Bay might be laid open, were presented to the House by the merchants of London, Great Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate upon this subject. On the other hand, the company exerted themselves

themselves in petitions and private applications for their own preservation. The committee examined many papers and records: and the report was taken into consideration by the whole House. Many evidences were interrogated, and elaborate speeches made, on both sides of the question. At length a majority seemed satisfied that the traffick on the coast of Hudson's-Bay could not be preserved without forts and settlements, which must be maintained either by an exclusive company, or at the publick expence; and, as this was not judged a proper juncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the design of dissolving the company was laid aside till a more favourable opportunity.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XIV. The government had during the war, found great difficulty in pressing men for the service of the navy—a practice, which, however sanctioned by necessity, is nevertheless a flagrant encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and a violent outrage against the constitution of Great-Britain. The ministry, therefore, had employed some of their agents to form a scheme for retaining in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of seamen who should be registered for the purpose, and be ready to man a squadron upon any emergency. Such a plan properly regulated, would have been a great advantage to commerce, which is always distressed by the practice of pressing seamen: and at the same time, a great security to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctures when it may be necessary to equip an armament at a minute's warning. The House of Commons being moved upon this subject, agreed to divers resolutions, as a foundation for the bill: but the members in the opposition affecting to represent this measure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of registering seamen without their own consent, Mr. Pelham dropped it, as an unpopular project.

BOOK III.

1748.

§ XV. Information having been received, that the French intended to settle the neutral islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago in the West-Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the House of Commons to address his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the House copies of the instructions given to the governors of Barbadoes for ten years last past, so far as they related to these neutral islands; but whether the minister was conscious of a neglect in this particular, or thought such inquiries trenched upon the prerogative, he opposed the motion with all his might; and after some debate, the previous question passed in the negative. This was also the fate of another motion made by the Earl of E—t for an address, entreating his Majesty would submit to the inspection of the House all the proposals of peace that had been made by the French King since the year which preceded the last rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. This they proposed as a previous step to the Parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or necessity of the peace which had been established. Violent debates ensued, in which the opposition was as much excelled in oratory as outnumbered in votes. Such were the material transactions of this session, which in the month of June was closed as usual with a speech from the throne; in which his Majesty signified his hope, that the Parliament at their next meeting, would be able to perfect what they had now begun for advancing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. He likewise expressed his satisfaction at seeing publick credit flourish at the end of an expensive war: and recommended unanimity as the surest bulwark of national security.

§ XVI. While the ministry, on some occasions, exhibited all the external signs of moderation and good

good humour; they, on others, manifested a spirit of jealousy and resentment, which seems to have been childish and illiberal. Two or three young riotous students at Oxford, trained up in prejudice, and heated with intemperance, uttered some expressions, over their cups, implying their attachment to the family of the Pretender. The report of this indiscretion was industriously circulated by certain worthless individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinsick merit, hoped to distinguish themselves as the tools of party, and to obtain favour with the ministry by acting as volunteers in the infamous practice of information. Though neither the rank, age, nor connections of the delinquents were such as ought to have attracted the notice of the publick, the Vice-Chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors of the university, knowing the invidious scrutiny to which their conduct was subjected, thought proper to publish a declaration, signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices, their determined resolution to punish all offenders to the utmost severity and rigour of the statutes; and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the university. Notwithstanding these wise and salutary precautions, the three boys, who in the heat of their intoxication, had drank the Pretender's health, were taken into custody by a messenger of State; and two of them being tried in the court of King's Bench, and found guilty, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster with a specification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be imprisoned for two years, and find security of their good behaviour for the term of seven years after their enlargment. Many people thought they saw the proceedings of the star-chamber revived in the severity of this punishment. The administration, not yet satisfied with the vengeance which had been taken on these three striplings, seemed determined to stigmatize

CHAP. I. 1748.

BOOK III. 1748.

the university to which they belonged. The cry of Jacobitism was loudly trumpeted against the whole community. The address of the university congratulating his Majesty on the establishment of the peace was rejected with disdain, and an attempt was made to subject their statutes to the inspection of the King's council; but this rule, being argued in the court of King's-Bench, was dismissed, in consequence of the opinions given by the judges. Finally, the same tribunal granted an information against Dr. Purnel, the Vice-Chancellor, for his behavour in the case of the rioters above-mentioned: but this was countermanded in the sequel, his conduct appearing unexceptional upon a more cool and impartial inquiry.

§ XVII. In proportion as Oxford declined, her sister university rose in the favour of the administration, which she at this period cultivated by an extraordinary mark of compliance and attachment. The dignity of Chancellor of the university being vacated by the death of the Duke of Somerset, the nation in general seemed to think it would naturally devolve upon the Prince of Wales, as a compliment at all times due to that rank; but more especially to the then heir apparent, who had eminently distinguished himself by the virtues of a patriot and a Prince. He had even pleased himself with the hope of receiving this mark of attachment from a seminary for which he entertained a particular regard. But the ruling members, seeing no immediate prospect of advantage in glorifying even a Prince who was at variance with the ministry, wisely turned their eyes upon the illustrious character of the Duke of Newcastle, whom they elected without opposition, and installed with great magnificence; learning, poetry, and eloquence, joining their efforts in celebrating the shining virtues and extraordinary talents of their new patron.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. Although opposition lay gasping at the feet of power in the House of Commons, the people of England did not yet implicitly approve all the measures of the administration; and the dregs of faction, still agitated by an internal ferment, threw up some ineffectual bubbles in different parts of the kingdom. Some of those who made no secret of their disaffection to the reigning family determined to manifest their resentment and contempt of certain noblemen and others, who were said to have abandoned their ancient principles, and to have sacrificed their consciences to their interest. Many individuals, animated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that cause which they durst not avow when it required their open approbation and assistance; and, though they industriously avoided exposing their lives and fortunes to the chance of war in promoting their favourite interest when there was a possibility of success, they betrayed no apprehensions in celebrating the memory of its last effort, amidst the tumult of a riot, and the clamours of intemperance. In the neighbourhood of Lichfield the sportsmen of the party appeared in the Highland taste of variegated drapery; and their zeal descending to a very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted, with hounds clothed in plaid, a fox dressed in a red uniform. Even the females at their assembly, and the gentlemen at the races, affected to wear the checquered stuff by which the Prince pretender and his followers had been distinguished. Divers noblemen on the course were insulted as apostates; and one personage, of high rank, is said to have undergone a very disagreeable flagellation.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XIX. As the publick generally suffers at the end of a war, by the sudden dismission of a great number of soldiers and seamen, who having contracted a habit of idleness, and finding themselves without employment and the means of subsistence,

BOOK II. 1748.

engage in desperate courses, and prey upon the community, it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet spirits might exhale without damage to the commonwealth. The most natural was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North-America, which, by being properly regulated, supported, and improved, might be the source of great advantages to its mother country. Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of England and France, concerning the limits of Nova-Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly ascertained. A fort had been raised, and a small garrison maintained, by the King of Great-Britain, at a part of this very country, called Annapolis-Royal, to over-awe the French neutrals settled in the neighbourhood: but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended. Upon every rupture or dispute between the two crowns, these planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen, settled at St. John's and Cape-Breton, and did all the ill offices their hatred could suggest against the colonies and subjects of Great-Britain. A scheme was now formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the Crown of Great-Britain in that large tract of country, clear the uncultivated grounds, constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fishery of that coast, which might be rendered a new source of wealth and commerce to Old England. The particulars of the plan being duly considered it was laid before his Majesty, who approved of the design, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the Earl of Halifax presided. This nobleman, endued by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciously cultivated, animated with liberal

liberal sentiments, and fired with an eager spirit of patriotism, adopted the plan with the most generous ardour, and cherished the infant colony with paternal affection. The commissioners for trade and plantations immediately advertised, under the sanction of his Majesty's authority, That proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed from the land and sea service, as were willing to settle with or without families, in the province of Nova-Scotia: That the fee-simple, or perpetual property, of fifty acres of land should be granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, for the term of ten years: at the expiration of which no person should pay more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres so granted: That, over and above these fifty, each person should receive a grant of ten acres for every individual, including women and children, of which his family should consist: That further grants should be made to them as the number should increase, and in proportion as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture: That every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land-service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with four-score acres on the same conditions: That two hundred acres should be bestowed upon ensigns, three hundred upon lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and six hundred on every officer above that degree, with proportionable considerations for the number and increase of every family: That the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the colonists, and a civil government established: by virtue of which they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection: That the settlers, with their families, should be conveyed to Nova-Scotia, and maintained for twelve months after their arrival at the expence of the government; which

CHAP. I.

1748.

BOOK III. 1748.

which should also supply them with arms and ammunition, as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and utensils for clearing and cultivating their land, erecting habitations, exercising the fishery, and such other purposes as should be judged necessary for their support.

§ XX. The scheme was so feasible, and the encouragement so inviting, that in a little time about four thousand adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade, who in the beginning of May set sail from England, under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, whom the King had appointed their governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their destination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou, on the sea-coast of the peninsula, about midway between Cape Canceau and Cape Sable. It is one of the most secure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well situated for the fishery; yet the climate is cold, the soil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and some oak, unfit for the purposes of timber; but at the same time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no sooner arrived in this harbour than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape Briton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a spot for the settlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but some inconveniences being discovered in this situation, he chose another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an easy ascent, commanding a prospect of the whole peninsula, and well supplied with rivulets of fresh and wholesome water. Here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Hallifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greatest share in founding the colony; and before the

the approach of winter above three hundred comfortable wooden houses were built, the whole surrounded by a strong pallisade. This colony, however, has by no means answered the sanguine expectations of the projectors; for notwithstanding the ardour with which the interests of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legislature, the inhabitants have made little or no progress in agriculture: the fishery is altogether neglected, and the settlement entirely subsists on the sums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whose duty obliges them to reside in this part of North-America.

§ XXI. The establishment of such a powerful colony in Nova-Scotia could not fail giving umbrage to the French in that neighbourhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealousy and disgust, nevertheless employed their emissaries clandestinely in stimulating and exciting the Indians to harass the colonists with hostilities, in such a manner as should effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the settlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French Court countenanced such perfidious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a considerable navy, and an extensive plantation trade, they not only exerted uncommon industry in re-establishing their marine, which had suffered so severely during the war; but they resolved, if possible, to extend their plantations, in the West-Indies, by settling the neutral islands, which we have already mentioned. In the beginning of the year the governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the island of Tobago, sent Captain Tyrrel thither in a frigate, to learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, secured by two batteries and

two

BOOK III.

1748.

two ships of war, and in daily expectation of a further reinforcement from the Marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinique; who had published an ordonnance, authorising the subjects of the French King to settle the island of Tobago, and promising to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This assurance was in answer to a proclamation issued by Mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, and stuck up in the different parts of the island, commanding all the inhabitants to remove, in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution. Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit that became a Commander in the British navy, gave the French officers to understand, that his Most Christian Majesty had no right to settle the island, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not desist, he should be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new settlement. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ship falling to leward, the French Captains seised that opportunity of sailing to Marnique; and next day the English Commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hostilities. These tidings, with a copy of the French governor's ordonnance, were no sooner transmitted to the ministry than they dispatched a courier to the English Envoy at Paris, with directions to make representations to the court of Versailles on this subject. The ministry of France, knowing they were in no condition to support the consequences of an immediate rupture, and understanding how much the merchants and people of Great-Britain were alarmed and incensed at their attempts to possess these islands, thought proper to disown the proceedings of the Marquis de Caylus, and to grant the satisfaction that was demanded, by sending him orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago. At the same time, however, that the Court of Versailles made this sacrifice for the satisfaction of England, the Marquis de Puysieux.

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the French minister, observed to the English resident, that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century. He ought in candour to have added, that although Louis XIV. made a conquest of this island from the Hollanders, during his war with that republick, it was restored to them by the treaty of Nimeguen, and since that time France could not have the least shadow of a claim to number it among her settlements. It was before this answer could be obtained from the court of Versailles that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the House of Commons, relating to the subject of the neutral islands; a motion discouraged by the Court, and defeated by the majority.

§ XXII. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was celebrated by fire-works, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the English, French, and Dutch seemed to display a spirit of emulation, in point of taste and magnificence; and in all probability, these three Powers were sincerely pleased at the cessation of the war. England enjoyed a respite from intolerable supplies, exorbitant insurance, and interrupted commerce; Holland was delivered from the brink of a French invasion; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-establishing her naval power, for exerting that spirit of intrigue, by dint of which she hath often embroiled her neighbours, and for executing plans of insensible encroachment, which might prove more advantageous than the progress of open hostilities. In the affair of Tobago the French King had manifested his inclination to avoid immediate disputes with England; and had exhibited another proof of the same disposition in his behaviour to the Prince-Pretender, who had excited such a dangerous rebellion to the island of Great-Britain.

§ XXIII. Among those Princes and Powers who excepted against different articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Chevalier de St. George, foreseeing

BOOK I.

1748.

seeing that none of the Plenipotentiaries would receive his protest, employed his agents to fix it up in the publick places of Aix-la-Chapelle; a precaution of very little service to his cause, which all the States of Christendom seemed now to have abandoned. So little was the interest of his family considered in this negociation, that the contracting Powers agreed, without reserve, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance; by which it was stipulated, that neither the Pretender nor any of his descendants should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the subscribing parties. At the same time the Plenipotentiaries of France promised to those of Great-Britain, that Prince Charles-Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his Most Christian Majesty. Notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the Court of Versailles to the young Adventurer, and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, Mons. de Courteille, the French Envoy to the Cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his Sovereign to demand an asylum for Prince Edward in the city of Fribourg. The Regency having complied in this particular with the earnest request of his Most Christian Majesty, Mr. Barnaby, the British Minister to the Helvetick Body, took the alarm, and presented the Magistracy of Fribourg with a remonstrance, couched in such terms as gave offence to that Regency, and drew upon him a severe answer. In vain had the French King exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young Pretender, who, being pressed with repeated messages to withdraw, persisted in refusing to quit the place, to which he had been so cordially invited by his cousin the King of France, and where he said that Monarch had solemnly promised, on the word of a King, that he would never forsake him in his distress, nor abandon the interests of his family. Louis was not a little perplexed at this obstinacy of Prince Edward,

Edward, which was the more vexatious, as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Parisians; who not only admired him for his own accomplishments, and pitied him for his sufferings, but also revered him, as a young hero lineally descended from their renowned Henry the Fourth. At length, the two English noblemen arriving at Paris, as hostages for the performance of the treaty, and seeing him appear at all publick places of diversion, complained of this circumstance, as an insult to their Sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty so lately concluded. The French King after some hesitation between punctilio and convenience, resolved to employ violence upon the person of this troublesome stranger, since milder remonstrances had not been able to influence his conduct: but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he dispatched to the Chevalier de St. George; who being thus informed of his son's deportment, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions upon him, to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe, for the interest of his realm. Edward, far from complying with this advice and injunction, signified his resolution to remain in Paris; and even declared, that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person. In consequence of this bold declaration, an extraordinary council was held at Versailles, when it was determined to arrest him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterprize was finally adjusted. That same evening, the Prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the Opera, the barrier was immediately shut, and the serjeant of the guard called "To arms;" on which Monsieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, "Prince, (said "he), I arrest you in the King's name, by virtue of "this order." At that instant the youth was surrounded

CHAP. I. 1748.

BOOK III. 1748.

rounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a case of pocket-pistols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the Opera-house, lest any tumult should have ensued among the populace. These precautions being taken, Vaudreuil, with an escort, conducted the prisoner through the garden of the Palais-Royal to a house where the Duke de Biron waited with a coach and six to convey him to the castle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. He had not remained above three days in his confinement when he gave the French ministry to understand, that he would conform himself to the King's intentions: and was immediately enlarged upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly, he set out in four days from Fontainbleau, attended by three officers who conducted him as far as Pont-Bauvosin on the frontiers, where they took their leave of him, and returned to Versailles. He proceeded for some time in the road to Chamberri; but soon returned into the French dominions, and, passing through Dauphiné, repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the Pope's legate. In the mean time, his arrest excited great murmurings at Paris; the inhabitants blaming, without scruple, their King's conduct in this instance, as a scandalous breach of hospitality, as well as a mean proof of condescension to the King of England; and many severe pasquinades, relating to this transaction, were fixed up in the most publick places in that metropolis.

§ XXIV. Although peace was now re-established among the principal Powers of the continent, yet another storm seemed ready to burst upon the northern parts of Europe, in a fresh rupture between Russia

Russia and Sweden. Whether the Czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated some revolution of government at Stockholm, or she wanted a pretence for annexing Finland to her empire; certain it is, she affected to apprehend that the Prince-successor of Sweden waited only for the decease of the reigning King, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and resume that absolute authority which some of the Monarchs, his predecessors, had enjoyed. She seemed to think that a Prince thus vested with arbitrary power, and guided by the councils of France and Prussia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in close alliance, might become a very troublesome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltick; she, therefore, recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, ordered a strong body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared in plain terms to the Court of Stockholm, That if any step should be taken to alter the government, which she had bound herself by treaty to maintain, her troops should enter the territory of Sweden, and she would act up to the spirit of her engagements. The Swedish ministry, alarmed at these peremptory proceedings, had recourse to their allies; and, in the mean time, made repeated declarations to the Court of Petersburgh, That there was no design to make the least innovation in the nature of their established government: but little or no regard being paid to these representations, they began to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; and the old King gave the Czarina to understand, That if, notwithstanding the satisfaction he had offered, her forces should pass the frontiers of Finland, he would consider their march as an hostile invasion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XXV. This declaration in all probability did not produce such effect as the interposition of his Prussian

BOOK III.

1748.

Prussian Majesty, the most enterprizing Prince of his time, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand of the best troops that Germany ever trained. Perhaps he was not sorry that the empress of Muscovy furnished him with a plausible pretence for maintaining such a formidable army, after the peace of Europe had been ascertained by a formal treaty, and all the surrounding States had diminished the number of their forces. He now wrote a letter to his uncle the King of Great-Britain, complaining of the insults and menaces which had been offered by the Czarina to Sweden: declaring, that he was bound by a defensive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at present established in Sweden; and that he would not sit still, and tamely see that kingdom attacked by any power whatsoever without acting up to his engagements: he therefore entreated his Britannick Majesty to interpose his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromise the disputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe. By this time the Russian army had approached the frontiers of Finland: the Swedes had assembled their troops, replenished their magazines, and repaired their marine: and the King of Denmark, jealous of the Czarina's designs with regard to the duchy of Sleswick, which was contested with him by the Prince-successor of Russia, kept his army and navy on the most respectable footing. At this critical juncture the Courts of London, Versailles, and Berlin co-operated so effectually by remonstrances and declarations at Petersburgh and Stockholm, that the Empress of Russia thought proper to own herself satisfied, and all those clouds of trouble were immediately dispersed. Yet, in all probability, her real aim was disappointed; and, however she might dissemble her sentiments, she never heartily forgave the King of Prussia for the share he had in this transaction. That Monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the support

support of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary endeavours in cultivating the civil interests of his country. He reformed the laws of Brandenburgh, and rescued the administration of justice from the frauds of chicanery. He encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture; and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by establishing an East-India company in the port of Embden. CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XXVI. Nor did the French ministry neglect any measure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had sustained in the course of the war. One half of the army was disbanded: the severe imposition of the tenth penny was suspended by the King's edict: a scheme of œconomy was proposed, with respect to the finances; and the utmost diligence used in procuring materials, as well as workmen, for ship-building, that the navy of France might speedily retrieve its former importance. In the midst of these truly patriotick schemes, the Court of Versailles betrayed a littleness of genius, and spirit of tyranny, joined to fanaticism, in quarrelling with their Parliament about superstitious forms of religion. The sacraments had been denied to a certain person on his death bed, because he refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus. The nephew of the defunct preferred a complaint to the Parliament, whose province it was to take cognizance of the affair; a deputation of that body attended the King with the report of the resolutions; and his Majesty commanded them to suspend all proceedings relating to a matter of such consequence, concerning which he would take an opportunity of signifying his royal pleasure. This interposition was the source of disputes between the Crown and Parliament, which had like to have filled the whole kingdom with intestine troubles.

§ XXVII. At Vienna the Empress-Queen was not more solicitous in promoting the trade and in-

BOOK III. 1748.

ternal manufactures of her dominions, by sumptuary regulations, necessary restrictions on foreign superfluities, by opening her ports in the Adriatick, and giving proper encouragement to commerce, than she was careful and provident in reforming the œconomy of her finances, maintaining a respectable body of forces, and guarding, by defensive alliances, against the enterprizes of his Prussian Majesty, on whose military power she looked with jealousy and distrust. In Holland, all the authority and influence of the Stadtholder were scarcely sufficient to allay the ferments excited among the people, by the provisional taxation which had succeeded the abolition of the pachters, and was indeed very grievous to the subject. As this was no more than a temporary expedient, the Prince of Orange proposed a more equitable plan, which was approved by the States, and established with great difficulty. In Italy the system of politicks seemed to change its complexion. The King of Sardinia effected a match between one of the Infantas of Spain and the Prince of Piedmont; and whether irritated by the conduct of the Austrians in the last war, or apprehensive of such a powerful neighbour in the Milanese, he engaged with the Kings of France and Spain in a defensive alliance, comprehending the King of the Two Sicilies, the Republick of Genoa, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma. His Most Catholick Majesty, sincerely disposed to cultivate the arts of peace, and encourage every measure that could contribute to the advantage of his country, was no sooner released from the embarrassments of war, than he began to execute plans of internal œconomy; to reduce unnecessary pensions, discharge the debts contracted in the war, replenish his arsenals, augment his navy, promote manufactures, and encourage an active commerce by sea, the benefits of which the kingdom of Spain had not known since the first discovery and conquest of the West-Indies.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. The preparations for refitting and increasing the navy of Spain were carried on with such extraordinary vigour, that other nations believed an expedition was intended against the corsairs of Algiers, who had for some time grievously infested the trade and coasts of the Mediterranean. The existence of this and other predatory republicks, which entirely subsist upon piracy and rapine, petty states of barbarous ruffians, maintained as it were in the midst of powerful nations, which they insult with impunity, and of which they even exact an annual contribution, is a flagrant reproach upon Christendom; a reproach the greater, as it is founded upon a low, selfish, illiberal maxim of policy. All the Powers that border on the Mediterranean, except France and Tuscany, are at perpetual war with the Moors of Barbary, and for that reason obliged to employ foreign ships for the transportation of their merchandize. This employment naturally devolves to those nations, whose vessels are in no danger from the depredations of the barbarians; namely, the subjects of the Maritime Powers, who for this puny advantage, not only tolerate the piratical States of Barbary, but even supply them with arms and ammunition, solicit their passes, and purchase their forbearance with annual presents, which are, in effect, equivalent to a tribute: whereas, by one vigorous exertion of their power, they might destroy all their ships, lay their towns in ashes, and totally extirpate those pernicious broods of desperate banditti. Even all the condescension of those who disgrace themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants is not always sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine. At this very period four cruizers from Algiers made a capture of an English packet-boat, in her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her to their city, where she was plundered of money and effects to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and afterwards dismissed. In consequence

CHAP. I. 1748.

BOOK III.

1748.

of this outrage, Commodore Keppel was sent with seven ships of war to demand satisfaction, as well as to compromise certain differences which had arisen on account of arrears claimed of the English by the Dey of Algiers. The Mussulman frankly owned that the money having been divided among the captors could not possibly be refunded. The Commodore returned to Gibraltar; and in the sequel, an Algerine Ambassador arrived in London, with some presents of wild beasts for his Britannick Majesty. This transaction was succeeded by another injurious affront offered by the Governor or Alcayde of Tetuan to Mr. Latton, an English Ambassador, sent thither to redeem the British subjects, who had been many years enslaved in the dominions of the King of Morocco. A revolution having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the reigning ruffian, insisted upon the Ambassador's paying a pretended balance for the ransom of the captives, as well as depositing a considerable sum, which had already been paid to a deceased Bashaw; alledging, that as he (the Emperor) received no part of it, the payment was illegal. Mr. Latton refusing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his house was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, who violently dragged his secretary from his presence, and threw him into a dismal subterranean dungeon, where he continued twenty days. The English slaves, to the number of twenty-seven, were condemned to the same fate; the Ambassador himself was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and sequestered from all communication. All the letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the Alcayde: two negro porters were intrusted with the keys of all his apartments, and a couple of soldiers posted at his chamber-door; nay, this Moorish Governor threatened to load him with irons, and violently seized part of the presents designed by his Britannick Majesty for the Emperor. At length,

finding that neither Mr. Latton nor the Governor of Gibraltar, to whom he had written, would deposit the money, without fresh instructions from the Court of London, the barbarian thought proper to relax in his severity: the prisoners were enlarged, the restrictions removed from the person of the Ambassador, and, after all these indignities offered to the honour of the British nation, the balance was paid, and the affair quietly adjusted.

§ XXIX. Britain, in the mean while, was altogether barren of events which might deserve a place in a general history. Commerce and manufacture flourished again, to such a degree of increase as had never been known in the island: but this advantage was attended with an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil policy, and opening a way for licence and immorality. The highways were infested with rapine and assassination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdness, intemperance, and profligacy. The whole land was overspread with a succession of tumult, riot, and insurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the legislature judged necessary for the convenience of inland carriage. In order to quell these disturbances, recourse was had to the military power; several individuals were slain, and some were executed as examples.

§ XXX. In the month of November the session of Parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed a particular pleasure in meeting them at a time when the perfect re-establishment of a general peace had restored to his people the blessing of quiet and tranquillity. He said, the good effects of these already appeared in the flourishing condition of national commerce, and in the rise of publick credit, which were the foundations of strength and prosperity to these

BOOK III. 1748.

kingdoms. He declared, That, during the summer, he had used every opportunity of cementing and securing the peace; That it was his firm resolution to do every thing in his power for the preservation of it, and religiously adhere to the engagements into which he had entered. Finally, he took notice of the good disposition he had found in the other contracting parties in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to cherish the publick tranquillity of Europe; and he earnestly recommended to the two Houses the maintenance of a strong naval power, as the bulwark of national security.

§ XXXI. When the motion was made for an address of thanks in the House of Commons, the first paragraph of his Majesty's speech furnished the opposition with a handle to declaim against the late treaty. Sir John Hynde Cotton observed, That the peace could not be properly stiled complete, as nothing had been stipulated with respect to the article of "no search;" alluding to the interruption our commerce had sustained from the Spaniards in the West-Indies; a stipulation, without which both Houses of Parliament had formerly voted that there should be no peace with that kingdom. In the present conjuncture of affairs such an objection savoured rather of party than of patriotism: and indeed Sir John declared, that the remarks he made upon the occasion were rather in discharge of the duty he owed to his country, than in hope of seeing his sentiments espoused by the Majority. Some sharp altercation was used in the debate which arose on this subject; and many severe invectives were levelled at those who negociated, as well as at those who approved and confirmed the treaty. But Mr. Pelham, who sustained the whole weight of the debate on the side of Administration, answered every objection with equal candour and ability; and if he failed in proving that the terms of peace were as favourable as could be expected, considering the

An 1749.

unfortunate

unfortunate events of the war, and the situation of the contending powers; he at least demonstrated, that it would be the interest of the kingdom to acquiesce for the present in the treaty which had been concluded, and endeavoured to remedy its imperfections by subsequent conventions, amicably opened among those powers between whom any cause of dispute remained. With respect to the vote of both Houses, mentioned by Sir John Hynde Cotton, he declared that he had never approved of that step when it was first taken; or, if he had, times and circumstances, which could not be foreseen, would have justified his deviating from it in the re-establishment of peace. He reminded them, that a Parliament of Great-Britain had once voted "no peace while any part of the West-Indies "should remain in possession of the Spanish King;" yet a train of incidents, which they could not possibly foresee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without insisting upon the accomplishment of that condition. In a word, we must own, that, in the majority of debates excited in the course of this session, the ministry derived their triumphs from the force of reason, as well as from the weight of influence. We shall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land-forces to fifteen thousand, and maintaining a greater number of seamen than the ministry proposed. On these constitutional points the Earl of Egmont, and the other chiefs of the opposition, expatiated with all the energy of eloquence; which, however, was frustrated by the power of superior numbers. Ten thousand seamen were voted for the service of the ensuing year, notwithstanding his Majesty's injunction to maintain a considerable navy; and the number of land forces was continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven. The sums granted for making good his Majesty's engagements with the Electors of Bavaria and Mentz,

CHAP. I. 1749.

BOOK III. 1749.

Mentz, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, amounted to fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. The services done by the colonies in North-America, during the war, were gratified with the sum of one hundred twenty-two thousand two hundred forty-six pounds. The expence incurred by the new colony of Nova-Scotia exceeded seventy six thousand pounds. A small sum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and ten thousand pounds were granted towards the support of the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa. The sum total granted in this session arose to four millions one hundred forty-one thousand six hundred sixty-one pounds, nine shillings and eleven pence half-penny, to be raised by the land-tax, at three shillings in the pound; the malt, and other duties, the surplus of divers impositions remaining in the Bank and Exchequer; one million by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the sinking fund, until redeemed by Parliament; and nine hundred thousand pounds out of the excess or overplus of monies denominated the sinking-fund.

§ XXXII. But the capital measure which distinguished this session of Parliament was the reduction of the interest on the publick funds; a scheme which was planned and executed by the minister, without any national disturbance or disquiet, to the astonishment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be possible for the government, at the close of a long and expensive war, which had so considerably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burthen of national debt, to find money for paying off such of the publick creditors as might choose to receive the principal, rather than submit to a reduction of the interest. It was not very much for the honour of the opposition, that some of its leading members endeavoured to impede this great machine of civil

œconomy,

œconomy, by taking opportunities of affirming in Parliament, in opposition to his Majesty's speech, that the nation, far from being in a flourishing condition, was almost entirely exhausted; that commerce drooped and declined; that publick credit stood tottering on the brink of ruin; and that all the treaties lately concluded among the different powers of Europe were, in effect, disadvantageous and prejudicial to the interests of Great-Britain. In answer to these assertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the register of exports and imports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extensive at this than at any former period; and that the publick credit was strong enough to admit of an experiment, which he would not presume to hazard, except upon a moral certainty of its being firmly rooted, beyond the power of accident and faction to shake or overturn. He declared, that his design of reducing the interest upon the funds was the result of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the servants of the crown to ease the burthens of the people. He said, he had conferred on this subject with persons of the most approved knowledge, and undoubted experience; and chose to promulgate the method proposed for alleviating the load of the national debt, that the publick, in knowing the particulars of the scheme, might have time to consider them at leisure, and start such objections as should occur to their reflection, before it might be too late to adopt amendments. He observed, that nothing could more clearly demonstrate the vigour of publick credit, and the augmentation of national commerce, than the price of stock, which had within three years risen to a very considerable increase; and the duties on imports, which in nine months had added one million to the sinking-fund, notwithstanding a very extraordinary sum which had been paid as bounties for exported corn. He expressed great tenderness

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BOOK III. 1749.

and regard for the interests of those who had advanced their money for the service of the government; declaring, that his aim was to contrive a fair, honest, and equitable method for lessening the national incumbrances, by lowering the interest, conformable to parliamentary faith, and agreeable to the rules of eternal justice. His plan was accordingly communicated, canvassed, and approved in the House of Commons, and an act passed for reducing the interest of the funds which constitute the national debt*. In pursuance of this act, for the reduction of the interest, the greater part of the creditors complied with the terms proposed, and subscribed their respective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at first

* The resolutions of the Commons on this head were printed by authority in the London Gazette, signifying, That those who were, or should be, proprietors of any part of the publick debt, redeemable by law, incurred before Michaelmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, carrying an interest of four per centum per annum, who should, on or before the twenty-eighth day of February in that year, subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of an interest of three pounds per centum, to commence from the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, subject to the same provisions, notices, and clauses of redemption, to which their respective sums at four per centum were then liable, should, in lieu of their present interest, be intitled to four per centum till the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty; and after that day, to three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum, till the twenty-fifth day of December one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; and no part of that debt, except what was due to the East-India Company, should be redeemable to this period: That if any part of the national debt, incurred before last Michaelmas, redeemable by law, and carrying an interest of four per centum, should remain unsubscribed on or before the thirtieth day of May, the government should pay off the principal. For this purpose his Majesty was enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politick or corporate, any sum or sums of money not exceeding that part of the national debt which might remain unsubscribed, to be charged on the sinking-fund, upon any terms not exceeding the rate of interest in the foregoing proposal.

All the duties appropriated to the payment of the interest were still continued, and the surplus of these incorporated with the sinking-fund for the discharge of the principal. Books were opened for the subscription at the Exchequer, the Bank of England, and the South-Sea house; and copies of these resolutions transmitted to the directors of all the monied corporations.

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kept aloof, and refused to subscribe any part of their capital. CHAP. I.

§ XXXIII. About the middle of March the Commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the sums which had been subscribed, and these were taken into consideration by a Committee of the whole House. It was then that Mr. Pelham, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed, That besides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the rest, carrying four per centum interest, had been subscribed, except about eight or nine millions, the proprietors of which had forfeited the favour designed them by Parliament: but as many of these had been misled by evil counsellors, who perhaps were more intent on distressing the government, than solicitous to serve their friends; and as many were foreigners, residing beyond sea, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the necessary instructions; and as these could not possibly be distinguished from such as refuse to subscribe from mere obstinacy or disaffection, it might be thought cruel to take the most rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred. With respect to the proprietors of the stock or capital belonging to the three great companies, he asserted, that many of them would willingly have subscribed their properties within the time limited, but were necessarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impossible to know those who were against the question on the ballot, he thought that some tenderness was due even to the proprietors of those three companies: his opinion, therefore, was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants should be indulged with further time to complete their subscriptions; but, in order to preserve the authority of Parliament, and the respect due to that august assembly, they ought not to be gratified with such advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants who 1750.

BOOK III. 1750.

at first chearfully complied with the proposals offered by the legislature. For these reasons he proposed, That although the term of subscribing should be protracted till the thirtieth day of May, the encouragement of three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should not be continued to the second subscribers longer than till the fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five. The proposal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpose, as well as for redeeming such annuities as should not be subscribed, which passed through both Houses, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clause, empowering the East-India Company, in case they should subscribe all their stock bearing an interest of four per centum, to borrow, with the consent of the Treasury, any sums not exceeding four millions two hundred thousand pounds, after the several rates of interest before proposed to be paid by the publick, and one million more at three per centum per annum. They were also vested with a power to raise money by bonds, as formerly; yet so as the whole, including the annuities, should not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow. The objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed insurmountable, entirely vanished before the fortitude, perseverance, and caution of the minister; who had secured, among the monied men of the nation, the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capital belonging to those creditors who might refuse to accept the interest thus reduced. The second subscription had the desired effect. The three great companies acquiesced, and their example was followed by the other scrupulous annuitants; the national burthen was comfortably lightened, and the sinking-fund considerably increased, without producing the least perplexity or disturbance in the commonwealth; a circumstance that could not fail to excite the admiration and envy of all Christendom.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. The mutiny-bill for the ensuing year was mitigated with an essential alteration, relating to the oath of secrecy imposed upon the members of every court-martial, who were now released from this reserve, if required to give evidence, by due course of law, in any court of judicature; and whereas, by the former mutiny-bill, a General was empowered to order the revisal of and sentence by a court-martial as often as he pleased, and, on that pretence, to keep in confinement a man who had been acquitted upon a fair trial, it was now enacted, That no sentence pronounced by any court-martial, and signed by the president, should be more than once liable to revisal. Colonel George Townshend, son of Lord Viscount Townshend, who had equally distinguished himself by his civil and military accomplishments, proposed another clause, for preventing any non-commissioned officer being broke or reduced into the ranks; or any soldier being punished, but by the sentence of a court-martial. He gave the House to understand, that certain persons attended at the door, who from the station of non-commissioned officers had been broke, and reduced into the ranks, without trial, or any cause assigned; and he expatiated not only upon the iniquity of such proceedings, but also upon the danger of leaving such arbitrary power in the hands of an individual officer. A warm debate was the consequence of this motion, which, however, was over-ruled by the majority.

§ XXXV. Among other regulations made in the course of this session for the encouragement of the British manufactures, a large duty was laid upon Irish sail-cloth, which being sold at an under price, was found to interfere with the same species of commodity fabricated in the island of Great-Britain; and, for the further benefit of this last, the bounty upon the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable

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BOOK III. 1750.

out of the customs. This measure, however, was not of such importance to the nation, as the act which they passed for encouraging the importation of pig and bar-iron from the British Colonies in North-America. Every well-wisher to his country reflected with concern on the nature of the British trade with Sweden, from which kingdom the subjects of his Britannick Majesty imported more iron and steel than all the other countries in Europe. For this article they paid a very great balance in ready money, which the Swedes again expended in purchasing from the French, and other mercantile powers, those necessaries and superfluities with which they might have been as cheaply furnished by Great-Britain. In the mean time the English Colonies in America were restricted by severe duties from making advantage of their own produce, in exchanging their iron for such commodities as they were under the necessity of procuring from their mother-country. Such restriction was not only a cruel grievance upon our own settlements, but also attended with manifest prejudice to the interest of Great-Britain, annually drained of great sums, in favour of an ungrateful nation, from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America must of necessity come in exchange for our own manufactures. The Commons having appointed a day for taking this affair into consideration, carefully examined into the state of the British commerce carried on with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of iron imported from the plantations in America; and a committee of the whole House having resolved, That the duties on American pig and bar iron should be removed, a bill* was brought in

* The most remarkable circumstance attending the progress of this bill, which made its way through both Houses, and obtained the Royal assent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favour and in prejudice of it, while it remained under consideration. The tanners of leather in and about the town of Sheffield in Yorkshire, represented,

in for that purpose, containing a clause, however, to prevent his Majesty's subjects from making steel, CHAP. I. 1750.

represented, That if the bill should pass, the English iron would be undersold; consequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be discontinued: in that case the woods used for fuel would stand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak bark sufficient for the continuance and support of their occupation. They nevertheless owned, that should the duty be removed from pig-iron only, no such consequences could be apprehended; because, should the number of furnaces be lessened, that of forges would be increased. This was likewise the plea urged in divers remonstrances by masters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of woodland in their possession The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron forges, belonging to Sheffield and its neighbourhood, enlarged upon the great expence they had incurred in erecting and supporting iron-works, by means of which great numbers of his Majesty's subjects were comfortably supported. They expressed their apprehension, that should the bill pass into a law, it could not in any degree lessen the consumption of Swedish iron, which was used for the purpose which neither the American nor British iron would answer; but that the proposed encouragement, considering the plenty and cheapness of wood in America, would enable the colonies to undersell the British iron, a branch of traffick which would be totally destroyed, to the ruin of many thousand labourers, who would be compelled to seek their livelihood in foreign countries. They likewise suggested, that if all the iron manufactures of Great-Britain should be obliged to depend upon a supply of iron from the plantations, which must ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the seas and the enemy, the manufactures would probably decay for want of materials, and many thousand families be reduced to want and misery. On the other hand, the ironmongers and smiths belonging to the flourishing town of Birmingham in Warwickshire, presented a petition, declaring, that the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the Colonists to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the British manufactures. They affirmed, that all the iron works in the island of Great-Britain did not supply half the quantity of that metal sufficent to carry on the manufacture; that if this deficiency could be supplied from the Colonies in America, the importation would cease, and considerable sums of money be saved to the nation. They observed, that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom than the like quantity imported from any other country; but they prayed that the people of America might be restrained from erecting slitting or rolling mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

Many remonstrances to the same effect were presented from different parts of the kingdom; and it appeared, upon the most exact inquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, upon trial, applicable to all the uses of Swedish iron, and as good in every respect as the produce of that country.

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BOOK III. 1750.

and establishing mills for slitting and rolling iron within the British colonies of America; this precaution being taken, that the colonists might not interfere with the manufactures of their mother-country.

§ XXXVI. The next commercial improvement, of which we shall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the British white herring and cod-fisheries. This was likewise the result of mature deliberation, importing, That a bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be granted, and paid out of the Customs to all new vessels from twenty to four-score tons burthen, which should be built for that purpose, and actually employed in the fishery: That a society should be incorporated, under the name of the Free British Fishery, by a charter, not exclusive, with power to raise a capital not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds; and that three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should be granted and paid out of the Customs to the proprietors for fourteen years, for so much of the capital as should be actually employed in the said fisheries. Corresponding chambers were proposed to be erected in remote parts of North-Britain, for taking in subscriptions, and prosecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London; and the nation in general seemed eager to dispute this branch of commerce with the subjects of Holland, whom they considered as ungrateful interlopers. In the House of Peers, however, the bill met with a formidable opposition from the Earl of Winchelsea and Lord Sandys, who justly observed, that it was a crude, indigested scheme, which, in the execution, would never answer the expectations of the people: That in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied industry, and the most rigid œconomy, nothing could be more absurd than a joint-stock company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expence: and the resolution of fitting out

out vessels at the port of London, where all sorts of materials, labour, and seamen are so much dearer than in any other part of the united kingdom, exclusive of the great distance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the Sound of Brassa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring-busses were to assemble in the beginning of the fishing season. They likewise took notice of the heavy duty on salt, used in curing the fish for sale, and the beef for provision to the mariners; a circumstance of itself sufficient to discourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce which, at best, yields but very slender profits to the trade in particular, how important soever it might prove to the community in general. These objections were answered by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Granville, who seemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly set on foot, without such a considerable sum of money as no single individual would care to advance; that a joint-stock company would be able to prosecute the fishery at a smaller expence than that which particular traders must necessarily incur; that the present spirit of the nation, which was eagerly bent upon trying the experiment, ought not to be baulked by delay, lest it should evaporate; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the sequel be remedied by the legislature. In a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a small amendment in the title, which produced some disquiets in the Lower House: but this dispute was compromised, and it was enacted into a law towards the close of the session. Nothing could be more agreeable to the publick than the sanction of the legislature to this favourite plan, which was ardently promoted, and patronised by men of the greatest eminence for wealth and popularity. The company chose for their Governor the Prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and respect with particular marks of satisfaction:

BOOK III. 1750.

satisfaction: the President and Vice-president were both Aldermen of London; and the Council was composed of thirty gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of Parliament. Great pains were taken, and some artifice was used, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fish. People crowded with their subscriptions; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the busses or vessels used in the fishery; and the most favourable consequences were expected from the general vigour and alacrity which animated these preparations. But the success did not gratify the sanguine hopes of the projectors and adventurers. The objections made in the House of Lords soon appeared to have been well founded: these co-operating with mismanagement in the directors, the spirit of the Company began to flag, the natural consequences of commercial disappointment, and now the British fishery seems to languish under the neglect of the legislature.

§ XXXVII. Touching the trade to the coast of Africa, petitions were renewed by the Company and its creditors, the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and Lancaster; and a remonstrance was presented by the planters and merchants interested in the British sugar settlements in America: but the Commons adhered to their former resolutions of laying open the trade, maintaining the forts at the publick expence, and regulating the commerce by a committee of merchants, representing the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be superintended by the board of trade and plantations. The bill was accordingly framed and presented, and having proceeded through both Houses without opposition, obtained the Royal assent. Over and above these wise, salutary, and patriotick measures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw silk by an act, reducing the duties formerly payable on that which was the growth of China

China to the same that is raised on the raw silk from Italy, and allowing the same draw-back upon the exportation of the one which had been usually granted on the other. A second bill was brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of silk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary success, by freeing from all duties that which should be imported from his Majesty's dominions in America; and a third was framed, permitting raw silk of the growth or produce of Persia, purchased in Russia, to be imported into Great-Britain, from any port or place belonging to the empire of Russia. Divers efforts were made, by different members in the opposition, to rectify certain abuses in the army and administration: some bills were brought in, and several petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, from the power and influence of the minister, who seemed resolved that no benefit should flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, for the honour of his memory, that there is no session on record so productive as this was of measures advantageous to the community. CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XXXVIII. The people, however, were not entirely satisfied with the conduct of the administration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raised during the progress of an election for a citizen to represent the city of Westminster in Parliament. The seat which had been filled by Lord Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, having become vacant, in consequence of that nobleman's accepting a place at the Board of Admiralty, he again declared himself a candidate, and met with a violent opposition. Those who stiled themselves the independent electors of Westminster being now incensed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interposition of ministerial influence, determined to use their utmost endeavours to baffle the designs

BOOK III. 1750.

of the Court, and at the same time take vengeance on the family of Earl Gower, who had entirely abandoned the opposition, of which he was formerly one of the most respected leaders. With this view they held consultations, agreed to resolutions, and set up a private gentleman, named Sir George Vandeput, as the competitor of Lord Trentham, declaring that they would support his pretensions at their own expence, being the more encouraged to this enterprize by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houses of entertainment for their partizans, solicited votes, circulated remonstrances, and propagated abuse: in a word, they canvassed, with surprising spirit and perseverance, against the whole interest of St. James's. Mobs were hired and processions made on both sides, and the city of Westminster was filled with tumult and uproar. The mutual animosity of the parties seemed every day to increase during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were presented on both sides: all the powers of insinuation, obloquy, and ridicule, were employed to villify and depreciate both candidates. At length the poll being closed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of Lord Trentham: but a scrutiny being demanded by the other side, the returning officer complied with their request. The Speaker of the Lower House had issued his warrant for a new writ of election about the middle of November; and towards the end of February Mr. Fox, Secretary at War, standing up, and observing that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, That the Clerk of the Crown, the Messenger Extraordinary attending the great seal, the Under-sheriff of Middlesex, and the High-bailiff of Westminster, should attend next morning, and give an account of their issuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election. These being examined, and the High-bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all possible

sible dispatch in the scrutiny; which had been demanded and was begun, Mr. Speaker explained to him some particulars of his duty; in the discharge of which, he was given to understand he might depend upon the protection of the House, should he meet with any obstruction which he could not otherwise surmount. By the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were contested on both sides, the scrutiny was protracted a long time, and the return attended with some extraordinary consequences, which shall be particularised among the transactions of the next year. In the mean time, the present session of Parliament was closed on the twelfth day of April, with a speech from the throne, commending the Commons for having seized the very first opportunity of reducing the interest of the national debt, without the least infringement upon the faith of Parliament; and congratulating them on the flourishing state of the public credit, which could not fail to add strength and reputation to the government, both at home and abroad. Immediately after the rising of the Parliament, his Majesty appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and embarked for the Continent, in order to visit his German dominions.

CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XXXIX. The month of January and the beginning of February were distinguished, the first day by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis, appearing at night to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken; and the coruscations, unlike those that are generally observed, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point some degrees to the southward. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged. On the eighth day of the same month, between

BOOK III.

1750.

twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses with such violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber-bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noise resembling that produced by the fall of some heavy piece of furniture. The shock extended through the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the westward of London; but not perceptible at a considerable distance. On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a second shock, more violent than the first, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose. It was preceded by a succession of thick low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The shock itself consisted of repeated vibrations, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rang, and in some places publick clocks were heard to strike. Many persons roused by this terrible visitation, started naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in distraction: yet no life was lost, and no house overthrown by this concussion, though it was so dreadful as to threaten an immediate dissolution of the globe. The circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression upon ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration that the two shocks were periodical; that the second, which happened exactly one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next, increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences. This general

neral notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated, among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatick soldier, who publickly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatick manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed, in a great measure, to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners: the sons of riot and profligacy were over-awed into soberiety and decorum. The streets no longer resounded with execrations, or the noise of brutal licentiousness; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Those, whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. Many who had, in the beginning, combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule, began insensibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached: even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after-ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth day of April, the open fields that skirted the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people assembled in chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the most fearful suspence until morning, and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then their fears vanished: they returned to their respective habitations in a transport of joy; and were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection,

CHAP. I. 1750.

BOOK III. tion, and once more bade defiance to the vengance of Heaven.

1750. § XL. By this time all the gaols in England were filled with the refuse of the army and navy, which having been dismissed at the peace, and either averse to labour, or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed upon the commonwealth. Great numbers of those wretches who, by proper regulations, might have been rendered serviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the rest perished miserably, amidst the stench and horrors of noisome dungeons. Even the prison of Newgate was rendered so infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons, stowed together in close apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a pestilential degree of putrefaction. It was this putrified air, which, adhereing to the clothes of the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old-Bailey in May, produced among the audience a pestilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the Lord Mayor of London, to one Alderman, two of the Judges, divers lawyers who attended the session, the greatest part of the jury, and a considerable number of the spectators. In order to prevent such disasters for the future, the gaols were cleansed, and accommodated with ventilators, which exhaust the foul and supply a circulation of fresh air; and other humane precautions were taken for the benefit of the prisoners.

§ XLI. The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration. An Ambassador Extraordinary being sent to Petersburgh from the Court of London declared to the Czarina's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Sweden, occasioned by the hostilities committed by the former power, his Britannick Majesty would consider Russia as the aggressor, and the Czarina could not expect that he would supply her with the succours which he was engaged by treaty to furnish for her

defence, in case she should be attacked. A declaration of the same nature was made by the Ambassador of her Imperial Majesty the Queen of Hungary while the ministers of France and Prussia, who were in strict alliance with Sweden, gave her to understand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the Court of Stockholm, should she actually invade the Swedish territories of Finland. The spirit with which the King of Prussia exerted himself on this occasion, gave infinite umbrage to the Czarina, who, indeed, expressed her resentment, by treating the minister of Brandenburgh with contemptuous neglect, and even refused to favour him with an audience, till he should be vested with the character of Ambassador. Thus were sown the seeds of misunderstanding between those two powers, which, in the sequel, grew up to the most bitter animosity, and served to inflame those dissentions which have desolated the fairest provinces of Germany. The remonstrance of his Prussian Majesty with respect to the troubles of the North, was couched in such terms as gave dissatisfaction to the Court of Petersburgh. The Russian Minister retired from Berlin, without the ceremony of taking leave, and the Prussian Ambassador Warendorf was recalled from the Court of the Czarina. CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XLII. The attention of his Britannick Majesty was not wholly engrossed by the disputes between Russia and Sweden. He had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the interest of his German dominions; and had set on foot two negociations of the utmost importance to the commerce and advantage of Great-Britain. His first and principal aim was, in conjunction with the Court of Vienna, to take such measures as would secure the succession of the Imperial dignity to the Archduke Joseph, eldest son and heir to the reigning Emperor. As the previous step to that elevation, it was proposed to elect this young Prince King of the Romans; and

BOOK III. 1750.

and for this purpose it was necessary to procure a majority not only of the electors, but also in the diet of the Empire, through which the proposal must have passed. No stone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German Princes. Subsidies were offered to the maritime powers of England, and the States-General, to the Electors of Mentz and Cologn: and a treaty of the same nature was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who, in consideration of an annual subsidy, amounting to forty thousand pounds sterling, two thirds to be paid by Great-Britain, and the rest by the States-General, engaged to keep in readiness a body of six thousand infantry, as auxiliaries to the Maritime Powers, though not to act against the Emperor or empire; and to join the interest of his Britannick Majesty in the diet, as well as in the electoral college. In order to render the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, propitious to this design, he was accommodated with the loan of a very considerable sum upon the mortgage of certain bailiwicks and lordships belonging to the Saxon dominions. Thus a majority of the electors was secured, and such foundations were laid for the success of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accomplished in his Britannick Majesty's next visit to his German dominions. Hopes, it was said, were given to the King of Sweden, that his concurrence would be gratified by erecting the House of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate. Arguments of an interesting nature were used with the King of Prussia, and the Elector Palatine, that if possible, the diet might unanimously approve of this measure, so necessary for establishing the peace of the empire, and preventing such troubles as arose from a disputed succession at the death of Charles the Sixth. These endeavours, however, did not succeed in their full extent.

§ XLIII.

§ XLIII. The King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburgh, opposed the election as unnecessary and improper, on account of the health and vigour of the reigning Emperor, and the tender years of the Archduke. This Monarch had set himself up as a balance to the power of the House of Austria, which had long aspired to absolute dominion over its co-estates, and endeavoured to establish an hereditary right of succession to the empire; he, therefore, employed all his influence to frustrate the measure proposed, either actuated by a spirit of pure patriotism, or inspired with designs which he had not yet thought proper to declare. The opposition was joined by the Elector Palatine, and countenanced by the French King; who protested, that, for the sake of peace, he would not oppose this election, though contrary to the Golden Bull, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college: but should any one member signify his dissent, and he or any state of the empire claim the protection and assistance of his Most Christian Majesty, he could not dispense with granting both, in consequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia: an engagement by which he was obliged to succour those Princes and States of the empire who might have recourse to him, in case of any grievance they suffered contrary to what was stipulated in that constitution. This declaration co-operating with the known character of his Prussian Majesty, whose great army over-awed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability damped that vigour with which the Courts of Vienna and Herenhausen had hitherto prosecuted this important negociation. CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XLIV. The second object that employed the attention of the British ministry, was the establishment of the precise limits of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, where the new colony had suffered great mischief and interruption from the incursions of the Indians,

BOOK III.

1750.

Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France. Commissaries had been appointed by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes: but the conferences were rendered abortive by every act of cavalling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims. They not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented. At this time also the insincerity of the French Court appeared in affected delays and artful objections, with respect to the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; and the Governors of the British plantations, in different parts of North-America, transmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the banks of the English colonies.

§ XLV. Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace stood between Great-Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical situation of affairs in Germany, determined the ministry of England to compromise all differences with Spain, upon such terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to discuss those points between the two nations, which had not been settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were also begun at Madrid, and carried on by Mr. Keene, plenipotentiary to his Britannick Majesty, and Don Joseph de Carvajal and Lancastro, the Spanish King's minister. At length a treaty was concluded on these conditions: The King of Spain engaged to pay, in three months, to the South-Sea company of England, one hundred thousand pounds sterling as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown by

by virtue of the Assiento. In other respects, the trade and navigation of the English to the ports of Spain were regulated by former treaties. It was stipulated, That they should pay no other duties than those that were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: That they should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations; and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking salt at the island of Tortuga. But there was no article restricting the Spanish guarda costas from searching the British vessels on the high seas: although, as we have already observed, this insolent prerogative, assumed without right, and exercised without humanity, was, in effect, the original and sole cause of the late rupture, which had been attended with such enormous expence to the nation. It must be owned, however, that his Catholick Majesty was at this period extremely well disposed to live upon good terms with Great-Britain. He was resolved to indulge his people with the blessings of peace, to propagate a spirit of industry throughout his dominions, and in particular, to encourage commerce, which he foresaw would prove a much more certain and inexhaustible source of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treasures he could drain from the mines of Mexico and Peru. His resolutions on this interesting subject were chiefly directed by Don Ricardo Wall, who now acted as his minister at London: a gentleman of Irish extract, who had distinguished himself in the field as well as in the cabinet, and possessed the joint qualifications of a general and a statesman. He had, by virtue of a passport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty, by a secret negociation with the English ministers; but immediately after the peace was proclaimed, he appeared in the character of Ambassador. He was possessed of the most insinuating address, shrewd, penetrating, and inquisitive. While he resided in London, he spared no pains in learning

BOOK III. 1750.

learning the nature of those manufactures, and that commerce, by which Great-Britain had been so remarkably aggrandized; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. He not only promoted the useful arts within the kingdom of Spain, but demonstrated the infinite advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected; and in a few years their ships were seen to swarm in all the commercial ports of Europe. Of other foreign events which distinguished this summer, the most remarkable was the death of John, King of Portugal, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued, the true interest of his country, and in whom many princely qualities were debased by a cruel spirit of bigotry and superstition. He was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who if he has fallen short of his father in some respects, cannot be justly charged with having inherited this paternal weakness.

§ XLVI. The King of Great-Britain having returned to England, opened the session of Parliament in January with a speech, importing, That he had concluded a treaty with the King of Spain, and amicably adjusted such differences as could not be so properly compromised with a general treaty: That the true commerce of this nation with that country was re-established upon the most advantageous and sure foundations; and that there was the greatest reason to hope the ancient friendship between Great-Britain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as interest, be now effectually restored. He told them, that in conjunction with the Empress-Queen and the States-General, he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria; and was employed in taking such further measures as might best tend to strengthen and secure the tranquillity of the Empire, support its system, and timely anticipate such events

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as had been found by experience to endanger the common cause, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occasion the loss of much blood and treasure to these kingdoms. He promised, that both these treaties should be subjected to their perusal; he gave them to understand, that he had received from all the other contracting powers in the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the most full and clear declarations of their resolution to preserve the general peace; and that he had taken care to consolidate the ties of union and friendship between him and his allies, the better to secure their mutual interests, maintain the peace already subsisting, and prevent the occasion of any future rupture. Finally, he recommended unanimity, the improvement of commerce, and the effectual suppression of such outrages and violences as are inconsistent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing condition he had at heart.

CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XLVII. When the motion was made for an address of thanks, couched in terms that savoured of the most implicit complaisance, approbation, and acquiescence in the measures which the Crown had taken, the Earl of Eg—t, and some other anti-courtiers, affirmed, that such an address would be equally servile and absurd. They observed, That nothing could be more preposterous than a blind approbation of measures which they did not know: That nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratulations on the present happy tranquillity, when almost every day's news-papers informed them of some British ships being seized by the Spaniards, or some new attack made by the French on our infant colony in Nova-Scotia. With respect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed, that the tranquillity of Germany would have been upon a much more solid foundation, had England never interposed in the affairs of the Empire: in that case the Princes

BOOK III. 1750.

would of themselves have supported the constitution of their own country: That the election of an infant for the King of the Romans was much more likely to disturb than establish the tranquillity of Europe; because it would help to overturn the constitution of the Empire, by rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in one House, instead of being the result of a free election. They took notice, that the constitution had provided Vicars to govern the Empire during the vacancy of the Imperial throne; but had made no provision of regents, protectors, or guardians for a minor Emperor, because it was never supposed that a minor would be chosen. They inveighed against the late treaty with Spain; in which, they said, the ministry, for the paltry sum of one hundred thousand pounds, had given up the claims of the South-Sea Company, and other British merchants, who had suffered from depredations to the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds; and bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards have assumed of searching the British ships in the open seas, and confiscating them should they find on board the least particle of what they called contraband merchandize. They produced an instance of an English ship, lately driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of the Spanish West-Indies, where she was searched, seized, and condemned, under this pretence. They recapitulated the conduct of the French, who, in the midst of their declarations of peace and moderation, were still employed in fortifying their settlements on the neutral islands, as well as in harassing and encroaching upon our plantations in North-America. They exclaimed against the treaty of subsidy, with the Elector of Bavaria, or any other Prince in time of peace; observing, that for some years the nation had paid such pensions to the Danes and the Hessians; but, in the course of the late war, the former abandoned

abandoned our interests, and the latter actually took arms against Great-Britain. They affirmed, that the subsidy was greater than the nation could spare; for, unless the land-tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound, they could not afford a shilling to any Prince in Germany, without encroaching upon the sinking-fund. "At such a juncture (said "a certain member) will any gentleman presume to "propose the continuation of such an imposition on "the land-holder, for the sake of bribing the Princes "of Germany to do what?—to preserve the free-"dom and independency of their native country. "I say, Princes of Germany, because this subsidy to "Bavaria will signify nothing unless we take half a "score more of them into our pay; and when we "have thus indulged them for seven years of peace, "they may give us the slip, as others have done, "whenever another war should be declared." Against these objections the motion was supported by William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the ministry. He observed, that the address was no more than the usual compliment to the Throne, which did not imply an obligation on the Parliament to approve of measures which they might find cause to censure upon further inquiry. He said, the trivial disputes still subsisting between this nation and the Spaniards, or France, would soon be terminated amicably, and could never affect the general tranquillity of Europe, which was to be established upon a firm alliance between his Majesty and such a confederacy upon the Continent as would be an over match for the House of Bourbon. He expatiated upon his Majesty's wisdom in taking off from the French interest such a powerful Prince as the Elector of Bavaria, and concerning other salutary measures for preserving the balance of power on the Continent. He defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain: observing, that what remained of the Assiento contract was a matter of very little consequence to the South-Sea Company; that the demands

CHAP. I. 1750.

BOOK III.

1750.

mands of this company, and other British merchants, were all cancelled by the rupture with Spain, and more than recompensed to the nation by a great balance of captures during the war, as well as by the great traffick carried on with the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortresses. He asserted that by this treaty the Court of Spain had made many important concessions; they had condescended to pay a great sum to the South-Sea Company; they had consented to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, upon a very advantageous and solid footing, by agreeing that the subjects of Great-Britain should pay no other duties on merchandize than those exacted of his Catholick Majesty's own subjects, and to abolish all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce. He affirmed, that the article of No Search was a stipulation which it would have been ridiculous to insist upon; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foresaw the opposition would throw upon him, from the circumstance of his having upon a former occasion, heartily concurred in a motion for an address, That no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such a stipulation should be first obtained as a preliminary. He owned he had strenuously contended for such a motion, because at that time, being very young and sanguine, he thought it right and reasonable: but he was now ten years older, had considered matters more cooly, and was convinced that the privilege of No Search, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained, unless Spain should be brought so low as to acquiesce in any terms we, as victors, might propose. He likewise signified his conviction, that all addresses from the House of Commons, during the course of a war, for prescribing terms of peace, were in themselves ridiculous; and that every such address was an encroachment on the King's prerogative, which had always

always been attended with unlucky consequences. How far these arguments are satisfactory, conclusive, and consistent, we shall leave to the reader's determination. Certain it is, they were adopted by the majority, and the address was presented without further opposition. CHAP. I. 1750.

§ XLVIII. The two grand committees appointed to discuss the supplies for the ensuing year, and the funds upon which they were to be raised, proceeded as usual, under the direction of the ministry; yet not without some vehement opposition, in which certain servants of the Crown expressed the most hearty concurrence. When a motion was made for reducing the number of seamen to eight thousand, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. G. Grenville, opposed it with all their might of argument and elocution; but they were over-ruled. Annual debates were also revived, with the same success, upon the number of troops constituting the standing army; but the other resolutions of the grand committees met with little or no opposition. The number of seamen for the ensuing year was limited to eight thousand: and that of the standing forces continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven effective men, including one thousand eight hundred and fifteen invalids. The Commons granted a considerable sum of money for paying off the principal of such redeemable stocks as had not been subscribed, in pursuance of two acts passed in the last session for reducing the interest of annuities. Thirty thousand pounds were given for fulfilling the King's engagement with the Elector of Bavaria: large grants were made for supplying deficiences, and replacing sums borrowed from the sinking-fund. The expence incurred by the new colony in Nova-Scotia, not provided for by Parliament, exceeded fifty-seven thousand pounds; and the maintenance of it for the ensuing year was fixed at fifty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, fourteen shillings,

BOOK III.

1750.

and four pence. An enormous charge! if we consider to how little purpose all this bounty was bestowed. A fund was established under the sanction of Parliament, for the relief and maintenance of the widows of sea-officers, by allowing, upon the books of every ship of war in sea-pay, the wages and victuals of one man for every hundred of which the complement shall consist, for such time only as the number of men employed in the service of the Royal Navy shall not exceed twenty thousand. This was an additional indulgence, over and above the allowance of one man granted by a former act of Parliament. On the whole, the provisions of this year amounted to five millions one hundred twenty-five thousand twenty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and seven pence, to be raised by the usual duties: the sum of one million twenty-six thousand four hundred seventy-six pounds, four shillings, and six pence, advanced by the Bank of England, to pay off their own unsubscribed annuities, for which they accepted Exchequer bills at three per cent. interest; by the land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a lottery and annuities, at the rate of three per cent. per ann. to be charged on the sinking-fund, redeemable by Parliament. The annual measure called the mutiny bill was not passed without dispute and altercation: some alterations were proposed, but not adopted; and the sentences of court-martials still subjected to one revision.

§ XLIX. In the midst of these deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was seized with a pleuretick disorder; and, after a short illness, expired on the twentieth day of March, to the unspeakable affliction of his Royal Consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent Prince, who now died in the

the forty-fifth year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people, a tender and obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interest of Great-Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a Prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the King had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir apparent, George, now Prince of Wales, was a minor. CHAP. I. 1750.

§ L. His Majesty, foreseeing all the inconveniencies which might arise from a minority, deliberated with his council on this subject, and resolved to obtain a parliamentary sanction for the measures judged necessary to secure the succession. With this view he sent a message to both Houses on the twenty-sixth day of April, importing, That nothing could conduce so much to the preservation of the Protestant succession in his Royal Family, as proper provisions for the tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case the successor should be of tender years: his Majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of Parliament; and proposed, that when the Imperial Crown of these realms should descend to any of the late Prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of these kingdoms, until he should attain the age of majority, with such powers and limitations as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes. This message produced a very affectionate address, promising to take the affair into their serious consideration; and in the beginning of May the Duke of Newcastle presented to the House of Peers a bill An. 1751.

BOOK III.

1751.

to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor. The bill was read a second time, and committed, when a second message arrived from his Majesty, recommending to their consideration the settlement of such a council of regency as the bill proposed, consisting of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who at that time commanded the army, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer, or first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, the President of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High-Admiral of Great-Britain, or first Commissioner of the Admiralty, the two principal Secretaries of State, and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench; all these great officers, except his Royal Highness the Duke, for the time being. This bill did not pass through the Lower House without violent debate and bitter sarcasms. The council of regency, though espoused by all the ministry, including the Paymaster-general, met with fierce opposition, as an unnecessary and fatal restriction, that would impede the machine of government, and, as the council was constituted, might be productive of the most pernicious consequence. Some of the members ventured even to insinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large standing army a Prince of the Blood vested with a share of the regency, possessed of great personal influence, the darling of the soldiery, brave, popular, and enterprising; supposed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any symptoms of extraordinary affection towards the person of the heir-apparent. The history of England was ransacked for invidious instances of Royal uncles and regents, who had injured the Sovereigns, and distressed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition. The characters of John Lackland, and John of Gaunt, Humphrey and Richard Dukes of Gloucester, were called in review, canvassed, compared,

pared, and quoted, with some odious applications: but the majority, being convinced of the loyalty, virtue, integrity, and great abilities of his Royal Highness, to whom the nation owed obligations of the most important nature, passed the bill with a few amendments, in which the Lords acquiesced; and in a little time it received the Royal sanction. CHAP. I. 1751.

§ LI. The death of the Prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the House of Commons, for naturalizing all foreign Protestants who should settle within the dominions of Great-Britain. Political arithmeticians have generally taken it for granted, that to every commercial nation an increase of people is an increase of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the supposition that every individual is industrious, and that there is a sufficient field for employment; but all these general maxims ought to be received under certain qualifications. When all branches of manufacture are overstocked, an addition of workmen will doubtless be an additional incumbrance on the community. In the debates which this bill produced, the members of the ministry were divided among themselves. The measure was enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton; and in opposing it the Earl of Egmont was joined by Mr. Fox, Secretary at War. Petitions and counter-petitions were presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, and other trading towns of the kingdom. All merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themselves vigorously in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the administration; but the project was odious to the people in general. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, in Common Council assembled, composed a remonstrance to the Lower House, setting forth the danger and inutility of a general naturalization of foreign Protestants. A petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Bristol

BOOK III. 1751.

Bristol represented that such a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many industrious artificers from procuring a sufficient support for themselves and their families, and of consequence increasing the rates of the poor: that the introduction of such a number of foreigners, instead of being a support to the present happy establishment, might endanger the very basis of our constitution: that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many strangers would doubtless come and reside in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufacturers and artificers; and, after having obtained this instruction, return to their native countries, where they would establish and carry on works of the same nature. The twentieth day of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was postponed, in consequence of the unfortunate death of the Prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being mustered against it in the sequel, the ministry did not think proper to persist in any unpopular measure at such a delicate conjuncture; so the bill was no more brought upon the carpet. Divers other regulations, relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great-Britain, were propounded in the House of Commons; but these proposals proved abortive, either because they appeared crude and indigested in themselves, or the House could not obtain proper information touching the allegations they contained.

§ LII. There were no other transactions in this session, except the concurrence of both Houses in stigmatising a printed paper, intituled, "Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every true Briton;" and the steps taken by the Commons, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the Westminster election. The above mentioned paper, which had been conveyed

conveyed by letter to the majority of both Houses, was communicated to the Lords in the month of January by the Duke of Marlborough, who moved for resolutions against it as a seditious libel, and that the concurrence of the Commons might be desired. A conference accordingly ensued, and both Houses concurred in voting the paper a false, malicious, scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel, containing the most false, audacious, and abominable calumnies and indignities upon his Majesty, and the most presumptuous and wicked insinuations that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent constitution of this kingdom were in danger under his Majesty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to instil groundless suspicions and jealousies into the minds of his Majesty's good subjects, and to alienate their affections from his Majesty and the Royal Family. It was, therefore, resolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled; That in abhorrence and detestation of such abominable and seditious practices, the paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the new Palace yard of Westminster; and this sentence was executed accordingly. Then they presented an address to his Majesty, desiring that the most effectual means might be taken for discovering the author, printer, or publisher, that he or they might be brought to condign punishment. Directions were given for this purpose; but without effect. Those concerned in writing, printing, and circulating the paper, had acted with such caution, that not one of them was ever discovered.

CHAP. I. 1751.

§ LIII. The proceedings of the Commons with respect to the election of a burgess for Westminster were attended with some extraordinary circumstances, which we shall now record, for the edifications of those who pique themselves on the privileges of a British subject. We have already observed, that a majority appearing on the poll for Lord

BOOK III. 1751.

Lord Trentham, the adherents of the other candidate, Sir George Vandeput, demanded a scrutiny, which was granted by the High-bailiff of Westminster, the returning-officer. During this tedious investigation, which rolled chiefly on the qualifications of voters, he acted with such address and seeming candour as gave entire satisfaction to both parties, till at length he determined in favour of Lord Trentham, whom he returned as duly elected. Those who stiled themselves the Independent Electors did not acquiesce in this determination without clamour, reproach, menaces, and riot. They taxed Mr. Leigh, the High-bailiff, with partiality and injustice: they loudly affirmed, that ministerial influence had been used in the most scandalous manner; and, finally, joined Sir George Vandeput in a petition to the Lower House, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Westminster. The Commons, instead of inquiring into the merits of these petitions, ordered them to lie upon the table; and without any complaint from any person whatever, a motion was made that Leigh, the High-bailiff, should attend the House immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in pursuance of the directions he had formerly received from that House, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to represent the city of Westminster. As this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was attending in the lobby, and immediately called into the House to be examined on this subject. Having, in the course of his examination, alleged that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was asked by whom, and by what means; but, before he could answer, the Earl of Egmont, interposing, objected to the question as improper, and moved for the order of the day. A debate immediately ensued, in which the impropriety of the question was demonstrated by Mr. Henley, now Lord-keeper, Dr. Lee, and some others,

others, the most sensible and moderate members of the House: but they were opposed with great violence by Lord Viscount Corke, Henry Fox, Esq. Sir William Young, Colonel Lyttelton, and the weight of the ministry; so that the motion for the order of the day was carried in the negative and the High-bailiff required to answer the question. Thus interrogated, he declared that he had been impeded in the scrutiny, and mal-treated, by Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for Sir George Vandeput, by the Honourable Alexander Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, and one Gibson, an upholsterer, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavours to promote the interest of Sir George Vandeput, or rather to thwart the pretensions of the other candidate, who was supposed to be countenanced by the ministry. These three persons, thus accused, were brought to the bar of the House, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrances of several members, who opposed this method of proceeding as a species of oppression equally arbitrary and absurd. They observed, that, as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognizance of the affair: that if any undue influence had been used, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election should fall under their inquiry: that a complaint having been lodged already against the returning officer, it was their duty to investigate his conduct, and punish him, if he should be found delinquent; but that nothing could be more flagrantly unjust, and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the High-bailiff, who stood charged with iniquity, to recriminate upon his accusers, that they might be disabled from giving evidence on the enquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the subject, whether he is oppressed by an arbitrary Prince, or by the despotick insolence of a ministerial majority? Mr. Crowle

BOOK III. 1751.

Crowle alledged, in his own vindication, that he had been employed as counsel by the electors of Westminster, and attended the scrutiny in that character; that after the High-bailiff had, in the course of the last session, received the order of the House to expedite the election, he hurried on the scrutiny with such precipitation as, he apprehended, was unjust, and prejudical to his clients; that, in this apprehension, he (Mr. Crowle) insisted upon the High-bailiff's proceeding with more deliberation, and in so doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidence being examined against him, declared he had not only protracted the scrutiny, but also spoke disrespectful words of the House of Commons: he was, therefore, reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker, and discharged.

§ LIV. Mr. Murray being charged with having uttered some threatening and affronting expressions, the House adjourned the consideration of this affair for some days, at the expiration of which Mr. Murray was to be heard by his counsel: but, in the mean time, they ordered him to be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms attending the House. This step, however, was not taken without a warm opposition by some of the most sedate and intelligent members of the House, who considered it as a cruel act of oppression. They observed, that in cases of breach of privilege no person complained of was ever taken into custody, until after he had been fully heard in his defence: that this was literally prejudging the cause before it had been examined; and the oppression was the greater, as the alledged offence consisted entirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the supposed offence had been committed; and, even then, not till an accusation had been lodged against the informant, upon the trial of which accusation the persons informed

against might very probably be the most material witnesses. They observed, that in one of the highest offences which can be committed by words, namely, that of denying the King's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information must be brought in three or four days after the words are spoken; the words must be proved to have been spoken maliciously, directly, and advisedly, and the prosecution must commence in three months after the information. These suggestions made no more impression than if they had been uttered in a desert. Those who were secure in their number asserted that the House of Commons was not restricted by the forms of proceedings at common law; and that it was necessary to vindicate their own honour and dignity, by making examples of those who seemed to hold them in contempt. Mr. Murray was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and found bail; and Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days released, upon presenting an humble petition, professing his sorrow for having incurred the displeasure of the House, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the Speaker. In the mean time divers witnesses being examined before the House, declared, that Mr. Murray had been seen, about the time of the return of a member for Westminster, heading and exciting a tumult to acts of violence against the High-bailiff. The majority, therefore, after a long and warm debate, agreed, That for his dangerous and seditious practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the House, and of the freedom of elections, he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate. Then, in the close of another violent debate, they resolved, That he should be brought to the bar of the House, to receive that sentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the Speaker to kneel, refused to comply.

CHAP. I. 1751.

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BOOK III. 1751.

He knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, without petitioning, acknowledging his offence, and making such concessions as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt: he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and being apprised of the extent of their authority, determined to bear the blunt of their indignation, rather than make submission which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself, the whole House was in commotion; he was no sooner removed from the bar than they resolved, That his having in a most insolent and audacious manner refused to be on his knees at the bar of that House, in consequence of their former resolution, was a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the Commons: it was therefore ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without the leave of the House. Finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt. Meanwhile the petitioners against the return made by the High-bailiff, perceiving the temper of the House, and the complexion of the majority, withdrew their petition; and the order which had passed for hearing the merits of the election was discharged. Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the Commons, by some of his relations, that he might be removed to a more convenient situation: and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the gaol distemper. Upon this representation the House agreed that the Speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the sergeant at arms, but this favour he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resentment

ment against those relations who had applied to the Commons in his behalf. Thus he remained sequestered even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the Commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner. But the prorogation of Parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house, in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

CHAP. I. 1751.

§ LV. In the month of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty thanked both Houses for the zeal and affection they had manifested towards him and his government; and congratulated the Commons in particular, upon their firmness and prudence in reducing the interest of the national debt, a measure as agreeable to him as essential to the strength and welfare of the kingdom*.—The interior œconomy of Great-Britain produced within the circle of this year nothing else worthy of historical regard, except a series of enormous crimes, arising from the profligacy of individuals, which reflected disgrace upon the morals and the polity of the nation. Rapine and robbery had domineered without intermission ever since the return of peace which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy; but now crimes of a

* One of the most remarkable acts which passed in the course of this session, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all other nations in Europe. By this new law it was decreed that the new year should begin on the first day of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days between the second and fourteenth days of September, 1752, should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month. By this establishment of the new stile, the equinoxes and solstice will happen nearly on the same nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice; and the correspondence between the English merchants and those of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with respect to the dates of letters and accounts.

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BOOK III. 1761.

deeper dye seemed to lift up their heads, in contempt of law and humanity*. Every day almost produced fresh instances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention; and the kingdom exhibited a most amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

* An indulgent parent was poisoned by his only daughter, on whom, besides other marks of tenderness and paternal affection, he had bestowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated her guilt and ingratitude. Another young woman was concerned in the assassination of her own uncle, who had been her constant benefactor and sole guardian. A poor old woman having, from the ignorance and superstition of her neighbours, incurred the suspicion of sorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Hertfordshire by the populace, with all the wantonness of barbarity. Rape and murder were perpetrated upon an unfortunate woman in the neighbourhood of London, and an innocent man suffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals assisted at his execution, heard him appeal to heaven for his innocence, and in the character of friends embraced him, while he stood on the brink of eternity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

§ I. *Death of the Queen of Denmark and Prince of Orange.* § II. *Misunderstanding between the Czarina and King of Prussia.* § III. *Measures for electing a King of the Romans.* § IV. *Death of the King of Sweden.* § V. *Session opened. Animosity of the Commons towards Mr. Murray.* § VI. *Proceedings upon a pamphlet, intitled the case of Mr. Murray.* § VII. *Supplies granted.* § VIII. *Civil regulations.* § IX. *Law relating to the forfeited estates in Scotland.* § X. *New consolidations of funds.* § XI. *Two ports opened for the importation of Irish wool.* § XII. *The King sets out for Hanover.* § XIII. *Affairs of the continent.* § XIV. *Dispute between Hanover and Prussia, concerning East-Friezeland.* § XV. *Misunderstanding between the Courts of London and Berlin.* § XVI. *Improvement of Pomerania.* § XVII. *Treaty with the Elector Palatine.* § XVIII. *Session opened.* § XIX. *Supplies granted.* § XX. *Game act.* § XXI. *Act for performing quarantine.* § XXII. *And for preventing the plundering of shipwrecked vessels.* § XXIII. *Bill relating to the bounty on corn exported.* § XXIV. *Turkey trade laid open.* § XXV. *Naturalization of the Jews.* § XXVI. *Marriage act.* § XXVII. *Deliberations concerning the sugar colonies.* § XXVIII. *Fate of the register bill.* § XXIX. *Sir Hans Sloane's Museum purchased by Parliament.* § XXX. *Story of Elizabeth Canning.* § XXXI. *Execution of Dr. Cameron.* § XXXII. *Tumults in different parts of the kingdom.* § XXXIII. *Disturbances in France.* § XXXIV. *Proceedings of the Diet relative to East-Friezeland.* § XXXV. *Treaty between the Court of Vienna and the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXXVI. *Conferences with respect to Nova-Scotia broke up.* § XXXVII. *Description of Nova-Scotia.* § XXXVIII. *Disputes concerning its limits.*

§ I.

BOOK III. 1751.

§ I. THE royal family of England had sustained three severe shocks in the compass of a few months. Besides the loss of the Prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his Majesty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngest daughter, the Queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen, on the nineteenth day of December, in the prime of youth. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether we consider the virtues of her heart, or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved even almost to adoration by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a Prince and two Princesses; and universally admired and revered by the subjects of his Danish Majesty. Her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, no less regretted by the natives of the United Provinces, for his candour, integrity, and hereditary love to his country. Though he had not distinguished himself by the lustre of a superior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his understanding, and study the true interest of that community of which he was a member. He had always approved himself a good and zealous citizen, and since his elevation to the Stadtholdership, taken many salutary steps for the advantage of his country. Among other excellent schemes which he suggested, he left a noble plan with the States-General for restoring their commerce to its former lustre, and lived long enough to receive their warmest acknowledgements for this last proof of his prudence and patriotism. His son and daughter being both infants, the administration of the government devolved upon the Princess, as Governante during her son's minority; and as such she succeeded to all the power which her husband had enjoyed.

§ II. With respect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the North seemed still as precarious

as ever: for though the difference between Russia and Sweden had been compromised, the mutual disgust between the Czarina and the King of Prussia had gained such accession from reciprocal insults, ill-offices, and inflammatory declarations, that those two powers seemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war. The Courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, foreseeing that such a rupture would embroil the empire, and raise insurmountable obstructions to their favourite scheme of electing the Archduke Joseph King of the Romans, resolved to employ all their influence, in order to effect a reconciliation between the Courts of Petersburgh and Berlin. His Prussian Majesty had signified to the King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, the situation in which he stood with the Czarina, and solicited their interposition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated. At the same time he sent an envoy extraordinary to Versailles, to negociate with the French King for a very considerable body of auxiliaries, in case he should be attacked. These circumstances induced the Maritime Powers, and the Court of Vienna, to use their utmost endeavours for the prevention of a rupture; and accordingly they made remonstrances on this subject by their ministers at Petersburgh, proposing that the quarrel should be terminated without bloodshed, and all cause of animosity be buried in oblivion.

CHAP. II. 1751.

§ III. In the mean time, they eagerly prosecuted the design of the election; and the Imperial minister at Berlin not only communicated to his Prussian Majesty the sentiments of the King of England on this expedient, but even solicited his vote for the Archduke Joseph, when the election of a King of the Romans should be proposed in the electoral college. To this proposal he replied, That he was extremely well disposed to manifest his regard for

BOOK III. 1751.

their Imperial Majesties, and to give the most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a King of the Romans, considering the great merit of the present candidate, the Archduke Joseph: but he left it to the consideration of their Imperial Majesties whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his Imperial Majesty was in the flower of his age; enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the Empire, was hushed in the bosom of tranquillity, so that no circumstance seemed to prognosticate the necessity of such an election; or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulation of the reigning Emperor's election; especially as the examination of these motives belonged to the whole Empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Westphalia. He observed, that, in case of the Emperor's death, Germany would find herself in a very disagreeable situation, under the government of a minor. For these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their Imperial Majesties to wait until the Archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on more conformably to the laws and constitutions of the Empire, and more suitable to the majesty of the whole Germanick body. This reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular transmitted it to the King of Great-Britain, desiring they would deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body, as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the ancient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the community. This circular letter was answered both by the King of England and the elector of Bavaria, who demonstrated, that it was the privilege of the Electoral college only, without any participation of the other Princes of the Empire, to elect a King of the Romans

mans during the life of the Emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preserve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wise precaution had produced bloody wars, and many fatal consequences to the Empire. They observed, that nothing could more contribute to the establishment of the publick tranquillity than this measure, so ardently desired by the majority of the German Princes; and that, although the Archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age, and it might possibly happen that the reigning Emperor should die during that Prince's minority, yet it would be much less perjudicial to the Empire to have a minor chief, than to see the succession altogether unsettled. His Prussian Majesty received a declaration to the same purpose from the Elector of Mentz; and understanding that this Prince, as Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propose the election of a King of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral Highness, explaining at more length his reasons for postponing the election. He quoted that sentence of the treaty of Westphalia which expressly declares, that the election of a King of the Romans shall be discussed and ordained by the common consent of the States of the Empire; and, therefore, he could not conceive what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themselves, excluding the other state of the Empire. He observed, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the Empire that treated of this subject, mentioned only three cases in which it was lawful to proceed to such an election; namely, the Emperor's leaving, and long absence from, Germany; his advanced age, or an indisposition, rendering him incapable of managing the reins of government; and any case of emergency in which the preservation of the Empire's prosperity is interested. He affirmed, that none of these motives at present existed: that, in case the

CHAP. II. 1751.

BOOK III.

1751.

Imperial crown should devolve to a minor, many mischiefs and disorders must ensue, as the constitutions of the Empire have established no regulations nor regency in that event: that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the Empire, would strike at the fundamental privileges of the Princes and States; consequently, in time overturn the constitution of the Empire, which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent suffrages of the electoral college and States of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the Prince thus chosen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary succession, perpetuated in one family, which, of course, must be aggrandised to the prejudice of its co-estates and the ruin of the Germanick liberties. In a word, all Germany in general, and Ratisbon in particular, was filled with writings published on both sides: by the Emperor and his adherents, to demonstrate that the election of a King of the Romans during the life of the Emperor, had often happened, and at this present time was necessary, and would be advantageous to the Empire: while the King of Prussia and his friends laboured to prove that such an election, at the present juncture, would be ill-timed, irregular, and of dangerous consequence. Perhaps, if the truth was known, this enterprising Prince had projected some great scheme, with the execution of which this proposed establishment would have interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himself with that spirit and preseverance which were peculiar to his character to frustrate the intention of the Courts of Vienna and London in this particular, and was assisted with all the intrigue of the French ministry. Their joint endeavours were so effectual, that the Elector of Cologn renounced his subsidiary treaty with the Maritime Powers, and once more threw himself into the arms of France. The Elector Palatine

Palatine being solicited by the Empress-Queen and his Britannick Majesty to co-operate with their views, insisted, as a preliminary article, upon being indemnified by the Court of Vienna for the ravages committed in his territories by the Austrian troops, during the course of the last war: the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, made the same demand of the like indemnification, which was granted by the mediation of King George: and then he subscribed to a subsidy-treaty, obliging himself to furnish a body of six thousand auxiliaries, in case they should be required by the Maritime Powers; and to act as Elector, in concert with the House of Austria, in every thing relating to the welfare of his country that should square with the fundamental laws of the Empire. The Courts of London and Vienna had this election so much at heart, that they sounded almost all the powers of Europe to know how they stood affected towards the measure proposed. The King of Spain declined intermeddling in a domestick affair of the empire. The French King returned an ambiguous answer; from whence it was concluded, that nothing but opposition could be expected from that quarter. The Swedish Monarch was rendered propitious to the project, by assurances that the House of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was the head, should be elevated into an electorate. They even endeavoured to soften his Prussian Majesty, by consenting, at last, that the treaty of Dresden, confirming to him the possession of Silesia, should be guaranteed by the diet of the Empire; a sanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his Imperial Majesty. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he still persisted in raising fresh objections to the favourite project on pretence of concerting measures for preventing the inconveniences that might result from a minority; for regulating the capitulations to be agreed on with the King of the Romans; securing the freedom of future

CHAP. II. 1751.

BOOK III. 1751.

elections, and preserving the prerogatives and privileges of the Germanick body in all its members. In consequence of these obstacles, joined to the apostacy of the Elector of Cologn, the obstinacy of the Elector Palatine, and the approaching diet of Hungary, at which their Imperial Majesties were obliged personally to preside, the measures for the election were suspended till next summer, when his Britannick Majesty was expected at Hanover, to put the finishing stroke to this great event in favour of the House of Austria.

§ IV. Another disappointment, with respect to this election, the promoters of it sustained in the death of his Swedish Majesty, who expired in a good old age, and was succeeded by Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck, upon whom the succession had been settled for some years, by the unanimous concurrence of the States of the kingdom. This Prince ascended the throne of Sweden without the least disturbance; and, of his own accord, took an oath in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotick authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws, and the form of government established in Sweden. This publick act, which was communicated to all the foreign ministers, and particularly to the envoy from Petersburgh, met with such a favourable reception from the Czarina, that she expressed her satisfaction in a publick declaration; and the good understanding between the two courts was perfectly restored.

§ V. When the Parliament of England was opened, in the month of November, the King, in his speech from the throne, gave them to understand, That for the same purposes which suggested the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States-General, concluded another with the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. He told

told them, that the unfortunate death of the Prince of Orange had made no alteration in the state of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the strongest assurances from the States, of their firm resolution to maintain the intimate union and friendship happily subsisting between his Majesty and those ancient and natural allies of his crown. He exhorted both houses to consider seriously of some effectual provisions, to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown so frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great measure from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself in an uncommon degree, to the dishonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious part of the people. The paragraphs of this speech were, as usual, echoed back to the throne in addresses, replete with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation. Opposition was by this time almost extinguished; and the proceedings of both Houses took place with such unanimity as was hardly ever known before this period in a British Parliament. The Commons, however, seem to have assembled with such sentiments as did no great honour to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days after the session opened, Lord Viscount C———e, a young nobleman, whose character entitled him to very little regard or influence among men of sense and probity, made a motion, that Mr. Murray, who had been so severely persecuted in the last session for refusing to humble himself on his knees before them, should be again committed close prisoner to Newgate for the same offence. This proposal, which supposed a power that the Commons had never before exercised, was sharply disputed by the Earl of Egmont, and others, who had not resigned all sense of moderation; but the majority adopted the measure with great eagerness, and the Speaker was ordered

CHAP. II. 1751.

BOOK III. 1751.

ordered to issue his warrant accordingly. Then the House resolved, That the said Alexander Murray should receive the sentence, for his now being committed close prisoner to his Majesty's gaol of Newgate, at the bar of the House, upon his knees; and the Serjeant at arms was commanded to take him into custody for this purpose. Their indignation, however, was eluded by the caution of the delinquent, who, having forseen the effects of their resentment, had prudently retired to another country. They determined, nevertheless, to proceed against him as a person of some consequence in the commonwealth; for, being informed of his retreat, they condescended so far as to present an address to his Majesty, desiring that his royal proclamation might be issued for apprehending the said Mr. Murray, promising a reward to him who should have the good fortune to apprehend this fugitive—a request with which his Majesty most graciously complied.

§ VI. Nor was this the only address presented to the King upon such an important subject. A pamphlet, intitled, "The Case of the Hon. Alexander Murray, Esquire, in an Appeal to the People of Great-Britain," was first stigmatized in a complaint to the House, and was afterwards produced, and read at the table. The piece was written with great acrimony, and abounded with severe animadversions, not only upon the conduct of the returning officer, but also on the proceedings of the Commons. The violent members immediately took fire, and the flame extended itself to the majority. Nay, the House unanimously resolved, That the pamphlet was an impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, falsely and most injuriously reflecting upon, and aspersing the proceedings of the House, tending to create misapprehensions in the minds of the people, to the great dishonour of the said House, and in violation of the privileges thereof. They furthermore presented an address to the King, desiring

siring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney-General to prosecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publishers or publisher of the said scandalous libel, that they might be brought to condign punishment. Directions were accordingly given for this purpose, and a prosecution commenced against the publisher, who had some reason to be dismayed, considering the great weight of influence he was doomed to encounter—influence arising from a prosecution of the Crown instituted at the request, and founded on a vote, of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, when the cause was heard before the Lord Chief Justice of England, a jury of free-born Englishmen, citizens of London, asserted their privileges of judging the law as well as the fact, and acquitted the defendant with a truly admirable spirit of independency. They considered the pamphlet as an appeal against oppression; and, convinced that the contents were true, they could not in conscience adjudge it a false libel, even though it had been so declared by one of the branches of the legislature.

§ VII. The Commons, in regulating the supplies of the ensuing year, voted the continuation of eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven men for the land-service, though not without some opposition from certain patriots, who, rather from a sense of duty than from any hope of influencing the majority, affirmed that sixteen thousand men in time of peace would answer all the ends proposed by a standing army. The number of seamen was fixed at ten thousand: large sums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the Crown with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinea; and one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and fifty-two pounds, three shillings and three pence were voted, as a full compensation to the old

Royal

BOOK III. An. 1752.

Royal African Company for their exclusive charter and property, to be applied for the relief of their creditors*.

§ VIII. The laws enacted for the encouragement of traffick and the regulations of civil polity, consisted in an act for licensing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of stolen goods: another for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and musick in London, Westminster, and within twenty miles of the capital, were suppressed and prohibited, unless the proprietors of them could obtain licences from the justices of the peace, empowered for that purpose: a third for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland unalienably in the Crown, after having made satisfaction to the lawful creditors; establishing a method of leasing these estates, and applying the rents and profits of them for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands, and preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more salutary than the purposes of these regulations. The suburbs of the metropolis abounded with an incredible number of publick houses, which continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance: they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and rapine; and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature: yet the suppression of these receptacles of infamy was attended with an inconvenience, which, in some cases, arose even to

* These expences were defrayed by a continuation of the duties on malt, &c. a land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a duty on licences, to be yearly paid by pawnbrokers and dealers in second-hand goods, within the bills of mortality; the sum of one million four hundred thousand pounds advanced by the Bank, according to a proposal made for that purpose; five hundred thousand pounds to be issued by the sinking-fund; a duty laid on gum senega; and the continuation of divers other occasional impositions. The grants for the year amounted to something less than four millions, and the provisions made for this expence exceeded it in the sum of two hundred seventy-one thousand twenty-four pounds, ten shillings, and six-pence halfpenny.

a degree

a degree of oppression. The justices being vested by the legislature with the power of granting or refusing licences, were constituted, in effect, the arbiters on whose decision the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals absolutely depended. Many of those who exercised this species of magistracy within the bills of mortality were, to the reproach of government, men of profligate lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious, and often acted from the most scandalous principles of selfish avarice. CHAP. II. 1752.

§ IX. The law relating to the Highlands of Scotland was well calculated for promoting, among the inhabitants of that country, such a spirit of industry as might detach them from their dangerous connections, and gradually supersede that military genius which had been so productive of danger and alarm to the southern parts of Great-Britain. The King, by this act, was empowered to appoint Commissioners for managing the forfeited estates; who were enabled to grant leases of small farms, not above twenty pounds a-year, to individuals, who should take an oath to government to reside upon and cultivate the lands thus let. It was also provided, that no lease should be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years; and that the lessees should not pay above three-fourths of the annual value. Although these forfeited estates were generally encumbered with claims beyond their real value, and the act directed that they should be disposed of by publick sale; yet, as they lay in the most disaffected parts of the Highlands, it was thought necessary that they should remain in the possession of the Crown, because, in case of their being publickly sold, they might be purchased in trust for the families of the persons by whom they were forfeited, and thus the spirit of disaffection would still survive. A valuation, therefore, was made by the court of session in Scotland, at the joint suit of the crown and the creditors; and the value being ascertained, the

BOOK III. 1752.

the just claimants were paid out of the next aids granted by Parliament. The bill met with considerable opposition in the House of Peers from the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Bath, who probably foresaw that the good effects of this scheme, so laudable in itself, would be frustrated in the execution: and that the act, instead of answering the purposes for which it was intended, would serve only as a job to gratify the rapacious retainers to the government, and their emissaries, in that country. After a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the Royal assent.

§ X. A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which was now converted into several joint stocks of annuities, transferrable at the Bank of England, to be charged on the sinking-fund. A great number of different funds for annuities, established at different times, and by different acts, subsisted at this period, so that it was necessary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without considerable trouble and expence, for the removal of which the bill was calculated.

§ XI. In consequence of petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Westmoreland and Yorkshire; two bills were brought in, and passed through both Houses, by which the ports of Lancaster and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequented ports of the kingdom it is not easy to conceive, without supposing a little national jealousy on one hand, and a great deal of grievous restraint on the other. Over and above these new laws, some unsuccessful endeavours were used in behalf of commerce and police. A bill was offered for laying further restrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer suck the blood of the poor, and act as the accessaries of theft and robbery, which was canvassed, debated, and made its way through the Lower House;

House; but the Lords rejected it as a crude scheme, which they could not amend, because it was a money bill, not cognizable by their House, without engaging in a dispute with the Commons. Another bill was prepared, for giving power to change the punishment of felony, in certain cases, to confinement and hard labour in dock-yards or garrisons. It was the opinion of many who wished well to their country, and were properly qualified to prosecute such inquiries, that the practice of consigning such a number of wretches to the hands of the executioner served only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpose of the law, in robbing death of all its terror, and the publick of many subjects, who might, notwithstanding their delinquency, be in some measure rendered useful to society. Such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill; by which it was proposed, in imitation of that economy practised in other countries, to confine felons convicted under certain circumstances to hard labour upon the publick works of the kingdom. The scheme was adopted by the Lower House, but rejected by the Lords, who seemed apprehensive of its bringing such discredit upon his Majesty's dock-yards, as would discourage persons who valued their reputation from engaging in such employment. Of still greater importance to the nation was the next measure proposed, in a bill for making the militia of England more useful, presented by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty and patriotism. It was canvassed in a committee of the whole House, and underwent divers amendments: but miscarried, through the aversion of the ministry to any project tending to remove or lessen the necessity of maintaining a standing army. A considerable number of petitions for different regulations, in respect to commerce and convenience of traffick, were presented, considered, and left upon the table. A remonstrance from the prisoners confined in the gaol

BOOK III.

1752.

goal of the King's-Bench, complaining of their miserable situation, arising from want of room and other conveniencies, being taken into consideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable personage who had signalized himself in different parts of Christendom, under the name of Theodore, King of Corsica. Though formerly countenanced, and even treated as a sovereign Prince by the British ministry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and, to the reproach of this kingdom, died in prison, surrounded with all the misery of indigence, and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. But the most remarkable circumstance of the parliamentary transactions that distinguished this session, was a motion made in both Houses for an address to the King, beseeching his Majesty, That in time of publick tranquillity he would be graciously pleased to avoid entering into subsidiary treaties with foreign Princes, which are so burthensome to this nation. This extraordinary proposal was made and strenuously urged by the Duke of B—, and a vehement debate ensued, in which the Earls of G—, S—, and H—, opposed it with an exertion of superior abilities, and the question being put, was carried in the negative, without a division. The same fate attended it in the House of Commons, where it was introduced by Lord H—y, and supported by some distinguished orators. The session ended in the latter end of March, when his Majesty, having given his assent to ninety-five publick and private bills, harangued both Houses, and prorogued the Parliament*.

* Among the proceedings of this session, it may not be improper to mention a new act for the prevention of murders, which had been shockingly frequent of late, importing, That every criminal convicted of this horrid crime should be executed in one day after his sentence, and his body delivered to the surgeons for dissection—an expedient which had been found productive of very salutary consequences.

§ XII. Immediately after the prorogation the King appointed a Regency, and set out for Hanover, in order to complete the great scheme he had projected for electing a King of the Romans. Great-Britain, in the mean time, produced no event of importance, or any transaction that deserves historical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the states of Tripoli and Tunis on the coast of Barbary, concluded by the British Consuls in those cities, under the influence and auspices of an English squadron, commanded by Commodore Keppel, son to the Earl of Albemarle. The tide of luxury still flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profligacy struck out new channels, through which they eluded the restrictions of the law, and all the vigilance of civil policy. New arts of deception were invented, in order to ensnare and ruin the unwary; and some infamous practices in the way of commerce were countenanced by persons of rank and importance in the commonwealth. A certain member of Parliament was obliged to withdraw himself from his country, in consequence of a discovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed schemes for destroying his own ships at sea, with a view to defraud the insurers.

§ XIII. In the course of this year the affairs of the Continent did not undergo any material alteration. In France, the religious dispute concerning the doctrine of Jansenius still subsisted between the Clergy and the Parliament; and seemed to acquire additional fuel from the violence of the Archbishop of Paris, a haughty, turbulent prelate, whose pride and bigotry were sufficient to embroil one half of Christendom. The northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity: the States-General of the United Provinces were engrossed by plans of national œconomy. Spain was intent upon extending her commerce

BOOK III.

merce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and repressing the insolence of the Barbary corsairs.

1752. His Portugueze Majesty endeavoured, by certain peremptory precautions, to check the exportation of gold coin from his dominions; and insisted upon inspecting the books of the British merchants settled at Lisbon: but they refused to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two Crowns; and he thought proper to acquiesce in their refusal. He was much better employed, in obtaining from the Pope an abolition of the annual procession called the *Auto da fe*, one of the most horrid triumphs of spiritual tyranny. The peace of Italy was secured by an offensive treaty concluded at Madrid between the Emperor, his Catholick Majesty, the King of the Two Sicilies, and the Duke of Parma; to which treaty the King of Sardinia afterwards acceded.

§ XIV. With respect to the great scheme of electing the Archduke Joseph King of the Romans, fresh objections seemed to rise from different quarters. The good understanding between the Courts of Berlin and Hanover received an additional shock, from a dispute concerning the property of East Friezland, which his Prussian Majesty had secured, as heir to the last possessor. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, having pretensions to the same inheritance, his minister delivered a memorial to the diet of the Empire, assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the King of Prussia, as Elector of Bradenburgh, should be referred to the decision of the Aulick council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friezland: but the King being already in possession, refused to submit his right to the determination of that or any other tribunal: and when the diet presumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a strong protest against their proceedings. At the same time, he presented the other ministers with a memorial, tending to refute

fute the Elector of Hanover's pretensions to the principality in question. CHAP. II.

§ XV. At this juncture his Prussian Majesty made no scruple of expressing his resentment against the court of London, which he seemed to consider as an officious cabal, that had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany. His resident at London complained to the British ministry, that divers ships, sailing under the Prussian flag, had been stopped at sea, and even seized by English cruisers; and that his subjects had been ill-treated and oppressed: he therefore, demanded reparation in a peremptory tone; and in the mean time, discontinued the payment of the Silesian loan, which he had charged himself with, by an article in the treaty of Breslau. This was a sum of money amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which the Emperor Charles VI. father of the reigning Empress, had borrowed of the subjects of Great-Britain, on condition of paying an interest of six per cent, and mortgaging the silver mines of Silesia for the repayment of the principal. These devolved to the King of Prussia with this incumbrance, and he continued to pay the interest punctually till this juncture, when the payment was stopped; and he published a paper, intituled, "An Exposition of the Motives which influenced his Conduct on this Occasion." In his memorial to the ministry of Great-Britain he alleged, That eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels, in which the subjects of Prussia were concerned, had been unjustly seized by English privateers: his account of damages amounted to a very considerable sum; and he demanded, in the most dogmatick terms, that the affair should be finally discussed in the term of three months from the date of his remonstrance. The exposition and memorial were subjected to the examination of the ablest civilians in England, who refuted every article of the charge with equal precision and perspicuity. 1752.

BOOK III. 1752.

They proved, that captures by sea fell properly under the cognizance of those powers under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made; and, therefore, his Prussian Majesty could not, consistent with the laws of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals. They demonstrated, by undoubted evidence, the falsity of many facts alleged in the memorial, as well as the fairness of the proceedings by which some few of the Prussian vessels had been condemned; and made it appear, that no insult or injury had been offered to the subjects of Prussia. Finally, they observed, that the Silesian loan was a private transaction of such a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the Emperor Charles VI. and his Britannick Majesty, this must have been held sacred and inviolable: that when the Empress-Queen ceded Silesia to the King of Prussia, this monarch charged himself with the repayment of the loan, which, being a private debt, and transferrable, was now diffused into different countries, and become the property of many others besides the subjects of Great-Britain. They wound up their chain of reasoning by observing, that, according to agreement with the Emperor, the whole of this loan should have been repaid in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five: whereas the complaints specified in the Prussian memorial were founded on facts posterior to that period. Whether his Prussian Majesty was convinced by these reasons, and desisted from principle, or thought proper to give up his claim upon other political considerations; certain it is, he no longer insisted upon satisfaction, but ordered the payments of the Silesian loan to be continued without further interruption: a report, indeed, was circulated, that advantage had been taken of the demur by a certain Prince, who employed his agents to buy up great part of the loan at a considerable discount.

§ XVI.

§ XVI. How much soever the King of Prussia may be the subject of censure on this occasion, it must be allowed that, with regard to his own subjects, he acted as a wise legislator, and the father of his country. He peopled the deserts of Pomerania; by encouraging, with royal bounties, a great number of industrious emigrants to settle in that province; the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the most agreeable alterations. Above sixty new villages arose amidst a barren waste, and every part of the country exhibited marks of successful cultivation. Those solitary and desolate plains, where no human footsteps had for many ages been seen, were now converted into fields of corn. The farms were regularly parcelled out: the houses multiplied, and teemed with population: the happy peasants, sheltered in a peculiar manner under their king's protection, sowed their grounds in peace, and reaped their harvest in security. The same care and indulgence were extended to the unpeopled parts of other provinces within the Prussian dominions, and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French protestants who should come and settle under the government of this political sage. CHAP. II. 1752.

§ XVII. The courts of Vienna and Hanover still employed their chief attention upon the scheme of electing a King of the Romans; and the Elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpose: but strong protests against this convocation were entered by the Electors of Cologn and Palatine, insomuch that it was thought expedient to conciliate this last, by taking some steps in his favour, with respect to the satisfaction he demanded from the Empress-Queen and his Britannick Majesty. His claim upon the court of Vienna amounted to three millions of florins, by way of indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the war. He demanded of

BOOK III. 1752.

the King of England twenty thousand pounds sterling, for provision and forage furnished to the British troops while they acted on the Maine; and the like sums for the like purposes from the States-General of the United Provinces. The Empress-Queen could not help remonstrating against this demand as exorbitant in itself, and the more unreasonable, as the Elector Palatine, at the death of her father, had openly declared against the pragmatick sanction, which he had guaranteed in the most solemn manner: she, therefore, observed, that the damage he had sustained, in consequence of that declaration, ought to be considered as the common fate of war. These reasons, though conclusive and irrefragable in the usual way of arguing, made no impression upon the Palatine, who perfectly well understood his own importance, and was determined to seize this opportunity of turning it to the best advantage. The court of Vienna, and the Maritime Powers, finding him thus obstinately attached to his own interest, resolved to bring him over to their views at any rate, and commenced a negociation with him, which produced a formal treaty. By this convention his demands in money were fixed at twelve hundred thousand Dutch florins, to be paid at three instalments, five hundred thousand by the Empress-Queen, and the remaining seven hundred thousand by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General, according to the proportion established in former treaties. The privilege of *Non appellendo*, for the duchy of Deux-ponts, was confirmed to his electoral highness, together with some other rights and pretensions, in consideration of his concurring with the other electors in the choice of a King of the Romans to be elected according to the customs prescribed by the laws and constitutions of the Empire. He likewise engaged to join them in settling the articles of the capitulation with the King of the Romans, emperor *in futuro*. Yet, even after

after the concurrence of this Prince was secured, the purposed election proved abortive, from the strong objections that were started, and the strenuous opposition which was made by his Prussian Majesty, who perhaps aspired in secret at the Imperial dignity, which the Empress-Queen took all this pains to perpetuate in her own family. CHAP. II. 1752.

§ XVIII. The King of Great-Britain, returning from the continent, opened the session of Parliament on the eleventh day of January with a speech, implying, That all his views and negociations had been conducted and directed to preserve and secure the duration of the general peace, so agreeable and necessary to the welfare of all Europe: That he had the satisfaction to be assured of a good disposition in all the powers that were his allies, to adhere to the same salutary object. He exhorted them to continue their attention to the reduction of the national debt, the augmentation of the sinking-fund, and the improvement of the publick revenue. He recommended to their serious consideration what further laws and regulations might be necessary for suppressing those crimes and disorders, of which the publick had so justly complained: and concluded with an assurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavours should never be wanting in any measure that might promote their welfare and prosperity. The addresses in answer to this speech were couched in the usual form of implicit approbation: but that of the Commons did not pass without question. The Earl of E—— took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his Majesty's wisdom, as well as goodness, in pursuing such measures as must contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity of Europe; and declared their satisfaction at the assurances his Majesty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the same salutary object. His lordship expatiated on the absurdity of these compli- An. 1753.

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BOOK III.

1753.

ments at such a juncture when the peace of Europe was so precarious, and the English nation had so much cause of complaint and dissatisfation. He was seconded by some other individuals who declaimed with great vivacity against continental connections; and endeavoured to expose the weakness and folly of the whole system of foreign measures which our ministry had lately pursued. It must be owned, indeed, that they might have chosen a better opportunity to compliment their sovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they must have seen themselves on the very brink of a new rupture with the most formidable power in Europe. But the truth is, these addresses to the throne had been long considered as compliments of course, implying no more than a respectful attachment to their sovereign: accordingly, both Houses agreed to their respective addresses without division. The two grand committees of supply and of ways and means, being established, the business of the House was transacted without much altercation; and the people had great reason to be satisfied with their moderate proceedings. Ten thousand seamen, and the usual number of land forces, were retained for the service of the ensuing year. They provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova-Scotia, the civil establishment of Georgia, the support of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboa, where the French had attempted to make a settlement; and they enabled his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the King of Poland and the elector of Bavaria.

§ XIX. The supplies, including grants for former deficiencies and services, for which no provision had been made in the course of the last year, did not exceed two millions one hundred thirty-two thousand seven hundred and seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and two pence half-penny; in order to

defray which expence they assigned the duty on malt, &c. the land-tax at two shillings in the pound, the surplus of certain funds in the Exchequer, and the sum of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund; so that the exceedings amounted to near three hundred thousand pounds*. As for the national debt, it now stood at the enormous sum of seventy-four millions, three hundred sixty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-one pounds, fifteen shillings, and one penny; and the sinking-fund produced one million seven hundred thirty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten pence farthing.

§ XX. One of the first measures brought upon the carpet, in the course of this session, was an act containing regulations for the better preservation of the game, of which so great havock had been made by poachers, and other persons unqualified to enjoy that diversion, that the total extirpation of it was apprehended.

§ XXI. The next step taken by the Commons was an affair of much greater consequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ships the more effectually to perform quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great-Britain. For this purpose, it was ordained, that if this dreadful visitation should appear in any ship to the northward of Cape Finisterre, the master or commander should immediately proceed to the harbour of New Grimsby, in one of the islands of Scilly, and there communicate the discovery to some officer of the Customs; who should, with the first opportunity, transmit this intelligence to another Custom-house officer in the nearest port of England, to be by him forwarded to

* Several duties on salt, as well as on red and white herrings delivered out for home consumption, were rendered perpetual, though subject to be redeemed by Parliament; and it was provided, that the debt contracted upon these duties being discharged, all the after produce of them should become part of the sinking fund.

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BOOK III. 1753.

one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. In the mean time the ship should remain at the said island, and not an individual presume to go ashore, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. It was also provided, that in case the master of a ship thus infected should not be able to make the islands of Scilly, or be forced up either channel by violent winds, he should not enter any frequented harbour; but remain in some open road, until he could receive orders from his Majesty, or the Privy Council: that, during this interval, he should avoid all intercourse with the shore, or any person or vessel whatsoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and suffering death without benefit of clergy.

§ XXII. In order the more effectually to repress the barbarous practice of plundering ships which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the British coast, to the disgrace of the nation, and the scandal of human nature; a bill was prepared, containing clauses to enforce the laws against such savage delinquents, who prowl along the shore, like hungry wolves, in hope of preying upon their fellow-creatures; and certain provisions for the relief of the unhappy sufferers*. When the mutiny-bill fell under deliberation, the Earl of Egmont proposed a new clause for empowering and requiring regimental courts-martial to examine witnesses upon oath in all their trials. The proposal occasioned a debate, in which the ministry were pretty equally divided; but the clause was disapproved by the majority, and

* By the new law, the clerk of the peace in the county where the crime shall be committed is obliged, upon receiving proper information, to prosecute the offenders at the expence of the county. It was likewise proposed, that in case no prosecution of this nature should be commenced within a certain limited time after the information should have been legally given, in that case the county might be sued by the person who had sustained the damage, and obliged to indemnify him for his loss: but this clause was rejected by the majority; and the bill, having made its way through both Houses, received the Royal assent.

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this annual bill was enacted into a law without any alteration. CHAP. II.

1758.

§ XXIII. The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed that the House would make proper provision for that purpose. A bill was accordingly brought in, importing, That interest after the rate of three per cent. should be allowed upon every debenture for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the receiver-general or cashier of the Customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such Customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted, except when the lowness of the market price in Great-Britain proves that there is a superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate: for example, suppose wheat in England should sell at twenty shillings a quarter, the merchant might export into France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for eighteen shillings, because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage.

§ XXIV. A great number of merchants having presented petitions from different parts of the kingdom, representing that the trade of Turkey was greatly decreased, ascribing this diminution to the exclusive charter enjoyed by a monopoly, and praying that the trade might be laid open to all his Majesty's subjects, one of the members for Liverpool moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. Such a measure had been twice before proposed without success; but now it was adopted without opposition. A bill was immediately introduced; and, notwithstanding all the interest and efforts of the Turkey company, who petitioned the House

BOOK III. 1758.

House against it, and were heard by their counsel, it passed through both Houses, and received the royal sanction. By this regulation any British subject may obtain the freedom of the Turkey Company, by paying or rendering a fine of twenty pounds; and all the members are secured from the tyranny of oppressive by-laws, contrived by any monopolizing cabal*.

§ XXV. But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for naturalizing Jews, and a bill for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The first of these which passed without much opposition in the House of Lords, from which it descended to the Commons, was intituled, "An Act to permit "persons professing the Jewish religion to be natu- "ralized by Parliament, and for other purposes "therein mentioned." It was supported by some petitions of merchants and manufacturers, who, upon examination, appeared to be Jews, or their dependents; and countenanced by the ministry, who thought they foresaw, in the consequences of such naturalization, a great accession to the monied interest, and a considerable increase of their own influence among the individuals of that community. They boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly conduce to the advantage of the nation; that it would encourage persons of wealth to remove with their effects from foreign parts into Great-Britain, increase the commerce and the credit of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of industry, tem-

* Several other bills were passed—one for regulating the number of public-houses, and the more easy conviction of persons selling ale and strong liquors without a licence; an act which empowered the Justices of Peace to tyrannize over their fellow-subjects—A second, enabling the magistrates of Edinburgh to improve, enlarge, and adorn the avenues and streets of that city, according to a concerted plan, to be executed by voluntary subscription—A third, allowing the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland into any port of Great-Britain—and a fourth, prescribing the breadth of the wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved.

perance,

perance, and frugality. Such, however, were not the sentiments of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London in Common council assembled, who, in a petition to Parliament, expressed their apprehension that the bill, if passed into a law, would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger the excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. Another petition to the same purpose was next day presented to the House, subscribed by merchants and traders of the city of London; who, among other allegations observed, that the consequences of such a naturalization would greatly affect their trade and commerce with foreign nations, particularly with Spain and Portugal. Counsel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which there seemed to be more passion than patriotism, more declamation than argument. The adversaries of the bill affirmed, that such a naturalization would deluge the kingdom with brokers, usurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews, under the shadow of this indulgence, would purchase lands, and even advowsons; so as not only to acquire an interest in the Legislature, but also to influence the constitution of the Church of Christ, to which they were the inveterate and professed enemies: that the lower class of that nation, when thus admitted to the right of denizens, would interfere with the industrious natives who earn their livelihood by their labour; and by dint of the most parsimonious frugality, to which the English are strangers, work at an under-price; so as not only to share, but even in a manner to exclude them from all employment: that such an adoption of vagrant Jews into the community, from all parts of the world, would rob the real subjects of their birth right, disgrace the character of the nation, expose themselves to the most dishonourable participation and

CHAP. II. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach upon the established religion of the country. Some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm. They prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power and influence in Great-Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prophecy, which declares, that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together in the land of their forefathers. These arguments and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudiced against the Jewish people, excited such a ferment throughout the nation, as ought to have deterred the ministry from the prosecution of such an unpopular measure; which however, they had courage enough to maintain against all opposition. The bill passed the ordeal of both Houses, and his Majasty vouchsafed the royal sanction to this law in favour of the Hebrew nation. The truth is, it might have increased the wealth, and extended the commerce of Great-Britain, had it been agreeable to the people; and as the naturalized Jews would still have been excluded from all civil and military offices, as well as from other privileges enjoyed by their Christian brethren, in all probability they would have gradually forsaken their own unprofitable and obstinate infidelity, opened their eyes to the shining truths of the gospel, and joined their fellow-subjects in embracing the doctrines of Christianity. But no ministry ought to risk an experiment, how plausible soever it may be, if they find it, as this was, an object of the people's unconquerable aversion. What

rendered this unpopular measure the more impolitick, was the unseasonable juncture at which it was carried into execution; that is, at the eve of a general election for a new Parliament, when a minister ought carefully to avoid every step which may give umbrage to the body of the people. The Earl of Eg——t, who argued against the bill with equal power and vivacity, in describing the effect it might have upon that occasion, "I am amazed (said he) "that this consideration makes no impression.— "When that day, which is not far off, shall arrive, "I shall not fear to set my foot upon any ground "of election in the kingdom, in opposition to any "one man among you, or any new Christian, who "has voted or appeared in favour of this naturali- "zation."

§ XXVI. Another bill, transmitted from the Upper House, met with a reception equally unfavourable among the Commons, though it was sustained on the shoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the royal approbation. The practice of solemnising clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree as claimed the attention of the Legislature. The sons and daughters of great and opulent families before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and

BOOK III. 1753.

and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet-prison to intercept customers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without licence or question, in cellars, garrets, or alehouses, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could imbitter the married state. A remarkable case of this nature having fallen under the cognizance of the Peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that House ordered the Judges to prepare a new bill for preventing such abuses; and one was accordingly framed, under the auspices of Lord Hardwicke, at that time Lord High Chancellor of England. In order to anticipate the bad effects of clandestine marriages, this new statute enacted, That the banns should be regularly published, three successive Sundays, in the church of the parish where the parties dwell: That no licence should be granted to marry in any place, where one of the parties has not dwelt at least a month, except a special licence by the Archbishop: That if any marriage should be solemnised in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a special licence; or, in a publick chapel, without having published the banns, or obtained a licence of some person properly qualified, the marriage should be void, and the person who solemnised it transported for seven years: That marriages, by licence, of parties under age, without consent of parent or guardian, should be null and void, unless the party under age be a widow, and the parent refusing consent a widow married again: That when the consent of a mother or guardian is refused from caprice, or such parent or guardian be *non compos mentis*,

mentis, or beyond sea, the minor should have recourse for relief to the Court of Chancery: That no suit should be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, upon pretence of any contract: That all marriages should be solemnised before two witnesses, and an entery be made in a book kept for that purpose, whether it was by banns or licence, whether either of the parties were under age, or the marriage celebrated with the consent of parent or guardian; and this entry to be signed by the minister, the parties and the witnesses: That a false licence, or certificate, or destroying register books, should be deemed felony, either in principal or accessary, and punished with death. The bill, when first considered in the Lower House, gave rise to a variety of debates: in which the members appeared to be divided rather according to their real sentiments, than by the rules of any political distinction: for some principal servants of the government freely differed in opinion from the minister, who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occasion, supported by certain chiefs of the opposition, and the disputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerness and warmth. The principal objections imported, that such restrictions on marriage would damp the spirit of love and propagation: promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domestick happiness, as well as to the prejudice of posterity and population; impede the circulation of property, by preseving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of aristocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; subject the poor to many inconveniences, and extraodinary expence, from the nature of the forms to be observed; and throw an additional power into the hands of the Chancellor. They affirmed, that no human power had a right to dissolve a vow solemnly made in the sight of heaven: and that, in proportion as the bill prevented clandestine marriages, it would encourage fornication

CHAP. II. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

fornication and debauchery, insomuch as the parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realized. On the other side, its advocates endeavoured to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision. The bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments; which were not effected without violent contest and altercation. At length, however, it was floated through both Houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of royal approbation. Certain it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed upon much easier terms than those imposed upon the subject by this bill, which, after all, hath been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North-Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption.

§. XXVII. Over and above these new statutes there were some other subjects which occasionally employed the attention of the Commons; such as the state of the British sugar-colonies, which was considered, in consequence of petitions presented by the sugar-refiners and grocers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for sugars imported from Jamaica; desiring that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raising sugar canes, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import muscovado sugars from other countries, when the price of those imported from Jamaica should exceed a certain rate. This remonstrance was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House; and a great number of evidences and papers being examined,

mined, they resolved, That the peopling of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, would be the most proper measure for securing that island, and increasing the trade and navigation between it and Great-Britain, and other parts of his Majesty's dominions: That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of Jamaica to increase the number of white inhabitants, and enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner that might best conduce to the security and defence of that island, had not been effectual for these purposes. The House ordered a bill to be founded on these resolutions; but this was postponed, until the ministry should receive more full information touching the true state of that island. The planters of Jamaica laboured under many grievances and hardships, from divers heavy impositions and restrictions; and a detail of these was transmitted in a representation to his Majesty, which was referred to the consideration of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. The cause of the planters was defended vigorously, and managed in the House of Commons by Alderman Beckford, a gentleman of vast possessions in the island of Jamaica, who perfectly well understood, and strenuously supported the interest of that his native country.

CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXVIII. Abortive also proved the attempt to establish a law for keeping an annual register of marriages, births, deaths, the individuals who received alms, and the total number of people in Great-Britain. A bill for this purpose was presented by Mr. Potter, a gentleman of pregnant parts, and spirited elocution: who, enumerating the advantages of such a law, observed, that it would ascertain the number of the people, and the collective strength of the nation; consequently, point out those places where there is a defect or excess of population, and certainly determine whether a general naturalization would be advantageous or prejudicial to the community;

BOOK III. 1763.

munity; that it would decide what number of men might, on any sudden emergency, be levied for the defence of the kingdom; and whether the nation is gainer or loser, by sending its natives to settle, and our troops to defend distant colonies; that it would be the means of establishing a local administration of civil government, or a police upon certain fixed principles, the want of which hath been long a reproach to the nation, a security to vice, and an encouragement to idleness; that in many cases where all other evidence is wanting, it would enable suitors to recover their right in courts of justice, facilitate an equal and equitable assessment in raising the present taxes, and laying future impositions; specify the lineal descents, relations, and alliances of families; lighten the intolerable burthens incurred by the publick, from innumerable and absurd regulations relating to the poor: provide for them by a more equal exertion of humanity, and effectually screen them from all risque of perishing by hunger, cold, cruelty, and oppression. Whether such a law would have answered the sanguine expectations of its patron, we shall not pretend to determine; though, in our opinion, it must have been attended with very salutary consequences, particularly in restraining the hand of robbery and violence, in detecting fraud, bridling the ferocity of a licentious people, and establishing a happy system of order and subordination. At first the bill met with little opposition, except from Mr. Thornton, member for the city of York, who inveighed against it with great fervour, as a measure that savoured of French policy, to which the English nation ever had the utmost aversion. He affirmed, that the method in which it was proposed this register should be kept would furnish the enemies of Great-Britain with continual opportunities of knowing the strength or weakness of the nation; that it would empower an ill-designing minister to execute any scheme subversive of publick liberty,

liberty, invest parish and petty officers of the peace with exorbitant powers, and cost the nation about fifty thousand pounds a-year to carry the scheme into execution. These arguments, which we apprehend, are extremely frivolous and inconclusive, had great weight with a considerable number, who joined in the opposition, while the ministry stood neutral. Nevertheless, after having undergone some amendments, it was conveyed to the Lords, by whom it was, at the second reading, thrown out, as a scheme of very dangerous tendency. The legislature of Great-Britain have, on some occasions, been more startled at the distant shadow of a bare possibility, than at the real approach of the most dangerous innovation.

§ XXIX. From the usual deliberations on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the Parliament, which had seldom or never turned upon literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary subject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, well known through all the civilized countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curiosities of art, had directed, in his last will, that his valuable museum, together with his numerous library, should be offered to the Parliament, for the use of the publick, in consideration of their paying a certain sum, in compensation, to his heirs. His terms were embraced by the Commons, who agreed to pay twenty thousand pounds for the whole, supposed to be worth four times that sum; and a bill was prepared for purchasing this museum, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, so denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer of England, and now offered to the publick by his daughter, the Duchess of Portland. It was proposed, that these purchases should be joined to the

BOOK III. 1753.

famous Cottonian library, and a suitable repository provided for them and the King's library, which had long lain neglected and exposed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Westminster: Accordingly, trustees and governors, consisting of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, were appointed, and regulations established for the management of this noble museum, which was deposited in Montagu-House, one of the most magnificent edifices in England, where it is subjected, without reserve, to the view of the publick, under certain necessary restrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taste and liberality.* In the beginning of June the session of Parliament was closed by his Majesty, who mentioned nothing particular in his speech, but that the state of foreign affairs had suffered no alteration since their meeting.

§ XXX. The genius of the English people is perhaps incompatible with a state of perfect tranquillity; if it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular measures of domestick administration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own constitution. Tumults are excited, and faction kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the most frivolous nature. At this juncture the metropolis of England was divided and discomposed

* The library of Sir Hans Sloane consisted of above fifty thousand volumes, including about three hundred and fifty books of drawings, and three thousand five hundred and sixteen manuscripts, besides a multitude of prints. The museum comprehended an infinite number of medals, coins, urns, utensils, seals, cameos, intaglios, precious stones, vessels of agate and jasper, crystals, spars, fossils, metals, minerals, oars, earths, sands, salts, bitumens, sulphurs, amber, ambergrise, talcs micæ, testacea, corals, sponges, echini, echenites, asteriæ, trochi, crustaciæ, stellæ marinæ, fishes, birds, eggs, and nests, vipers, serpents, quadrupeds, insects, human calculi, anatomical preparations, seeds, gums, roots, dried plants, pictures, drawings, and mathematical instruments. All these articles, with a short account of each, are specified in thirty-eight volumes in folio, and eight in quarto.

in a surprising manner, by a dispute in itself of so little consequence to the community, that it would not deserve a place in a general history, if it did not serve to convey a characteristick idea of the English nation. In the beginning of the year an obscure damsel, of low degree, whose name was Elizabeth Canning, promulgated a report, which in a little time attracted the attention of the publick. She affirmed, that on the first day of the new year, at night, she was seized under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who having stripped her of her upper apparel, secured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her should she make the least noise; that they conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield-wash, and brought her to the house of one Mrs. Wells, where she was pillaged of her stays; and, because she refused to turn prostitute, confined in a cold, damp, separate, and unfurnished apartment; where she remained a whole month, without any other sustenance than a few stale crusts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length she forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's house, almost naked, in the night of the twenty-ninth of January. This story, improbable and unsupported, operated so strongly on the passions of the people in the neighbourhood of Aldermanbury, where Canning's mother lived, and particularly among fanaticks of all denominations, that they raised voluntary contributions, with surprising eagerness, in order to bring the supposed delinquents to justice. Warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the house at Enfield-wash, and her accomplices, the servant-maid, whose name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gipsey-woman, which last was charged by Canning, of having robbed her of her stays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was punished as a bawd. Hall turned evidence for Canning, but afterwards recanted. Squires, the gypsey, was convicted

CHAP. II. 1753.

of

BOOK III. 1753.

of the robbery, though she produced undoubted evidence to prove that she was at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire that very night in which the felony was said to be committed, and Canning and her friends fell into divers contradictions during the course of the trial. By this time the prepossession of the common people in her favour had risen to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that the most palpable truths which appeared on the other side, had no other effect than that of exasperating them to the most dangerous degree of rage and revenge. Some of the witnesses for Squires, though persons of unblemished character, were so intimidated, that they durst not enter the court; and those who had resolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the risque of assassination from the vulgar that surrounded the place. On this occasion, Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Lord-Mayor of London, behaved with that laudable courage and humanity which ought ever to distinguish the chief magistrate of such a metropolis. Considering the improbability of the charge, the heat, partiality, and blind enthusiasm with which it was prosecuted, and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily sent up from the country by persons of unquestionable credit, he, in conjunction with some other worthy citizens, resolved to oppose the torrent of vulgar prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy: the case was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who, having examined the evidences on both sides, made their report in favour of Squires to the King and Council; and this poor old creature was indulged with his Majesty's pardon. This affair was now swelled up into such a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble. Pamphlets and pasquinades were published on both sides of the dispute, which became the general topick of conversation in all assemblies, and

and people of all ranks espoused one or other party with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the Whigs and Tories, even at the most rancorous period of their opposition. Subscriptions were opened, and large sums levied, on one side, to prosecute for perjury the persons on whose evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand, those who had interested themselves for the gypsey, resolved to support her witnesses, and, if possible, detect the imposture of Canning. Bills of perjury were preferred on both sides. The evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted; at first Canning absconded; but afterwards surrendered to take her trial, and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was transported to the British colonies. The zeal of her friends, however, seemed to be inflamed by her conviction; and those who carried on the prosecution against her were insulted, even to the danger of their lives. They supplied her with necessaries of all sorts, paid for her transportation in a private ship, where she enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that situation, and furnished her with such recommendations as secured to her a very agreeable reception in New-England.

CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXXI. Next to this very remarkable transaction, the incident that principally distinguished this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North-Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe, who had taken the field with the Prince-Pretender. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerously wounded, he found means to escape to the Continent. His brother, the Doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and was included with him in the act of attainder passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the imminent danger attending such an attempt,

BOOK III. 1753.

attempt, the Doctor returned privately to Scotland, in order (as it was reported) to recover a sum of money belonging to the Pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country. What ever may have been his inducement to re-visit his native country under such a predicament, certain it is, he was discovered, apprehended, conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and produced in the Court of King's-Bench, where his identity being proved by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. The terror and resentment of the people, occasioned by the rebellion, having by this time subsided, their humane passions did not fail to operate in favour of this unfortunate gentleman: their pity was mingled with esteem, arising from his personal character, which was altogether unblemished, and his deportment on this occasion, which they could not help admiring, as the standard of manly fortitude and decorum. The populace, though not very subject to tender emotions, were moved to compassion and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many sincere well-wishers to the present establishment thought that the sacrifice of this victim, at such a juncture, could not redound either to its honour or security.

§ XXXII. The turbulent spirit, which is never totally extinguished in this island, manifested itself in sundry tumults that broke out in different parts of South-Britain. The price of provisions, and bread in particular, being raised to an exorbitant rate, in consequence of an absurd exportation of corn, for the sake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers, and other labouring people, raised an insurrection at Bristol, began to plunder the corn-vessels in the harbour, and commit such outrages in the city, that the magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the military power. A troop of dragoons

goons were sent to their assistance, and the insurgents were quelled, though not without some bloodshed. Commotions of the same kind were excited in Yorkshire, Manchester, and several other places in the northern counties. At Leeds, a detachment of the King's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire upon the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed on the spot; and, indeed, so little care had been taken to restrain the licentious insolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations, duly executed under the eye of civil magistracy, that a military power was found absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom. CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXXIII. The tranquillity of the Continent was not endangered by any new contest or disturbance: yet the breach between the Clergy and the Parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were pretty equally divided between superstition and a regard for civil liberty. The Parliament having caused divers ecclesiasticks to be apprehended, for having refused to administer the sacraments to persons in extremity, who refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the Archbishop of Paris. Application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the Parliament with the most supercilious contempt, and even seemed to brave the power and authority of that body. They, on the other hand, proceeded to take cognizance of the recusant clergy, until their Sovereign ordered them to desist. Then they presented remonstrances to his Majesty, reminding him of their privileges, and the duty of their station, which obliged them to do justice on all delinquents. In the mean time, they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a prosecution against the Bishop of Orleans, whom they summoned to attend their tribunal. Next day they received from Versailles a *lettre de cachet*, accompanied by letters patent,

BOOK III. 1753. patent, commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relating to the refusal of the sacraments; and ordering the letters patent to be registered. Instead of obeying these commands, they presented new remonstrances, for answers to which they were referred to the King's former declarations. In consequence of this intimation, they had spirit enough to resolve, "that, whereas certain evil-minded persons had "prevented truth from reaching the throne, the "chambers remained assembled, and all other bu-"siness should be suspended." The affair was now become very serious. His Majesty, by fresh letters patent, renewed his orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary business, on pain of incurring his displeasure. They forthwith came to another resolution, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without a breach of their duty and their oath. Next day *lettres de cachet* were issued, banishing to different parts of the kingdom all the members, except those of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren. They forthwith resolved to abide by the two resolutions mentioned above; and, as an instance of their unshaken fortitude, ordered an ecclesiastick to be taken into custody for refusing the sacraments. This spirited measure involved them in the fate of the rest; for they were also exiled from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to extol their conduct with the loudest encomiums, and at the same time to express their resentment against the clergy, who could not stir abroad without being exposed to violence or insult. The example of the Parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to issue orders for apprehending the Bishop of Evreux, because he had refused to appear when summoned to their tribunal. Their decrees on this occasion being annulled by the King's council of state, they presented a bold remonstrance, which, however, had no other effect than

that

that of exasperating the ministry. A grand deputation being ordered to attend the King, they were commanded to desist from intermeddling in disputes relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and to register this injunction. At their return they had recourse to a new remonstrance: and one of their principal counsellors, who had spoken freely in the debates on this subject, was arrested by a party of dragoons, who carried him prisoner to the castle of Dourlens. In a word, the body of the people declared for the Parliament, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; and, had they not been over-awed by a formidable standing army, would certainly have taken up arms in defence of their liberties; while the Monarch weakly suffered himself to be governed by priestly delusions; and, secure in his military appointment, seemed to set the rest of his subjects at defiance. Apprehensive, however, that these disputes would put an entire stop to the administration of justice, he, by letters patent, established a royal chamber for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal, which was opened with a solemn mass performed in the Queen's chapel at the Louvre, where all the members assisted. On this occasion another difficulty occurred. The letters patent, constituting this new court, ought to have been registered by the Parliament, which was now no more. To remedy this defect, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet; which refusing to register them, one of its members was committed to the Bastile, and another absconded. Intimidated by this exertion of despotick power, they allowed the King's officers to enter the letters in their registers; but afterwards adopted more vigorous resolutions. The Lieutenant civil appearing in their court, all the counsellors rose up and retired, leaving him alone, and on the table an arret, importing, That whereas the confinement of one of their members, the prosecution of another, who durst not appear, and the present calamities of the nation, gave them just

CHAP. II. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

just apprehension for their own persons, they had, after mature deliberation, thought proper to retire. Thus a dangerous ferment was excited by the King's espousing the cause of spiritual insolence and oppression against the general voice of his people, and the plainest dictates of reason and common sense.

§ XXXIV. The property of East Friezland continued still to be the source of contention between the Electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover. The interest of his Britannick Majesty being powerfully supported by the House of Austria, the minister of that power at the diet proposed that the affair should be taken into immediate consideration. He was seconded by the Minister of Brunswick; but the envoy from Brandenburgh, having protested in form against this procedure, withdrew from the assembly, and the Brunswick Minister made a counter protestation, after which he also retired. Then a motion being made, that this dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulick council at Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of fourteen voices. His Prussian Majesty's final declaration with regard to this affair was afterwards presented to the diet, and answered in the sequel by a memorial from his Britannick Majesty as Elector of Hanover. Some other petty disputes likewise happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munster; and the former claiming some bailiwicks in the territories of Bremen, sequestered certain revenues belonging to this city, in Stade and Ferden, till these claims should be satisfied.

§ XXXV. The Court of Vienna having dropped for the present the scheme for electing a King of the Romans, concluded a very extraordinary treaty with the Duke of Modena, stipulating, that his Serene Highness should be appointed perpetual Governor of the duchy of Milan, with a salary of ninety thousand florins, on condition that he should maintain a body of four thousand men, to be at the disposal of the Empress-Queen; that her Imperial Majesty should

should have a right to place garrisons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the castle of Massa-Carrara: that the Archduke Peter Leopold, third son of their Imperial Majesties, should espouse the daughter of the Hereditary Prince of Modena, by the heiress of Massa-Carrara; and in case of her dying without heirs male, the estates of that house and the duchy of Mirandola should devolve to the Archduke; but in case of her having male issue, that she should enjoy the principality of Fermia, and other possessions in Hungary, claimed by the Duke of Modena, for her fortune: finally, that on the extinction of the male branch of the house of Este, all the dominions of the Duke of Modena should devolve to the house of Austria. CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXXVI. While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in strengthening their respective interests, and concerting measures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between the subjects of Great-Britain and France, in different parts of North-America. We have already observed that commissaries had been appointed, and conferences opened at Paris, to determine the disputes between the two crowns, relating to the boundaries of Nova-Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evasion practised by the French commissaries, to darken and perplex the dispute, and elude the pretensions of his Britannick Majesty. They persisted in employing these arts of chicanery and cavil with such perseverance, that the negociation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing seemed to portend approaching hostilities. But, before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavour to convey a just idea of the dispute concerning Nova-Scotia; which, we apprehend, is but imperfectly understood, though of the utmost importance to the interest of Great-Britain.

§ XXXVII.

BOOK III.

1758.

§ XXXVII. Nova-Scotia, called by the French Acadia, lies between the forty-fourth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, having New England and the Atlantick ocean to the south and south-west, and the river and Gulph of St. Lawrence to the north and north-east. The winter, which continues near seven months in this country, is intensely cold; and without the intervention of any thing that can be called spring, it is immediately succeeded by a summer, the heat of which is almost insupportable, but of no long continuance. The soil in general is thin and barren, though some parts of it are said to be equal to the best land in England. The whole country is covered with a perpetual fog, even after the summer has commenced. It was first possessed by the French, before they made any establishment in Canada; who, by dint of industry and indefatigable perseverance, in struggling with the many difficulties they necessarily laboured under in the infancy of this settlement, subsisted tolerably well, and increased considerably, with very little assistance from Europe: whilst we, even now, should lose the immense expence we have already been at to settle a colony there, and should see all our endeavours to that end defeated, if the support of the royal hand was withdrawn but for a moment. This country, by the possession of which an enemy would be enabled greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of singular service both to their fishery and their sugar islands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the English, and from the English back again to the French, till our right to it was finally settled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which all the country included within the ancient limits of what was called Nova-Scotia or Acadia, was ceded to the English. This article was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: but, for want of ascertaining distinctly what were the bounds intended to be

be fixed by the two nations with respect to this province, disputes arose, and commissaries, as we have observed, were appointed by both sides, to adjust the litigation. CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXXVIII. The commissaries of the King of Great-Britain conformed themselves to the rule laid down by the treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country which had always passed as such, from the very earliest time of any certainty, down to the conclusion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declared to be such, and which the French had often admitted and allowed. These limits are, the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west: the country situated between these boundaries is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, under the general name of Acadia. Of this country, thus limited, they continued in possession from that period to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, when a descent was made upon it, under the command of Colonel Sedgwick. That these were then the undisputed limits of Acadia, his Britannick Majesty's commissaries plainly proved, by a letter of Louis XIII. to the Sieurs Charnisay and La Tour, regulating their jurisdictions in Acadia; by the subsequent commissions of the French King to the same persons, as Governors of Acadia, in the sequel: and by that which was afterwards granted to the Sieur Denys, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Lawrence to Pentagoet and New-England. That these were the notions of the French with respect to the ancient limits of this province was further confirmed by the demand made by their Ambassador, in the course of that same year, for the restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's, and Port-Royal, as forts situated in Acadia. In the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two,

BOOK III. upon the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Westminster, the French Ambassador, then at the Court of London, assigned Pentagoet as the western, and the river St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of that country; and alleged the restitution of Acadia in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and the possession taken by France in consequence thereof, as well as the continuation of that possession, with the same limits, to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made: in which claim, and in the manner of supporting it, he was particularly approved of by the Court of France. The same Court afterwards thought it so clear, upon former determinations, and her own former possessions, that the true ancient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagoet to the west, and the river St. Lawrence to the north, that she desired no specification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the restitution of Acadia; generally named: and, upon a dispute which arose in the execution of this treaty, France re-asserted, and Great-Britain, after some discussion, agreed to the above-mentioned limits of Acadia; and France obtained possession of that country, so bounded, under the treaty of Breda. The sense of France upon this subject, in the years one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, and one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven, was also clearly manifested, in the memorials delivered at that time by the French Ambassador at the Court of London, complaining of some encroachments made by the English upon the coast of Acadia: he described the country as extending from isle Percée, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, to St. George's island: and again, in a subsequent complaint, made by Mons. Barillon and Mons. de Bonrepaus to the Court of Great-Britain, against the judge of Pemaquid, for having seized the effects

1753.

of

of a French merchant at Pentagoet, which, said they, was situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of Breda. To explain the sense of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year one thousand seven hundred, the British commissaries produced a proposal of the French Ambassador, then residing in Great-Britain, to restrain the limits of that country to the river St. George. They also instanced the surrender of Port-Royal in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in the years one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. And further to ascertain the sense of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, they produced the Queen of Great-Britain's instructions to her Ambassadors in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven, in which they were directed to insist, "That his Most Christian Ma- "jesty should quit all claim or title, by virtue of "any former treaty, or otherwise, to the country "called Nova-Scotia, and expressly to Port-Royal, "otherwise Annapolis-Royal." To these they added a manifest demonstration, founded on indisputable facts, proving that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia or Nova-Scotia, were intended by Great-Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend with more certainty all that country which France had ever received as such: finally, to specify what France considered as Acadia. During the treaty they referred to the offers of the crown in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, in which she proposed to restrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great-Britain would restore to her the possession of that country. From all these facts

CHAP. II. 1758.

BOOK III. 1753.

it plainly appears that Great-Britain demanded nothing but what the fair construction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily implies: and that it is impossible for any thing to have more evident marks of candour and fairness in it, than the demand of the English on this occasion. From the variety of evidence brought in support of this claim, it evidently results, that the English Commissaries assigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but those which France herself determined to be such in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two; and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; that in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two France claimed, and received in one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine, the country which Great-Britain now claims as Acadia, restored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general denomination: That France never considered Acadia, as having any other limits than those which were assigned to it from the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, to the year one thousand seven hundred and ten; and that, by the treaty of Utrecht, she engaged to transfer that very same country as Acadia, which France has always asserted and possessed, and Great-Britain now claims, as such. Should the Crown of France, therefore, be ever willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations so frequently made in like discussions upon the same point, by her possessions of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia, during the negociation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the claim of Great-Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht, and to the description of the country transferred to Great-Britain by the twelfth article of that treaty. There is a consistency in the claim of the English, and a completeness in the evidence brought in support of

it, which is seldom seen in discussions of this sort; for it rarely happens, in disputes of such a nature between two crowns, that either of them can safely offer to have its pretensions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or the possessions of the other. To answer the force of this detail of conclusive historical facts, and to give a new turn to the real question in dispute, the French commissaries, in their memorial, laid it down as a distinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the ancient limits of Acadia, referred to by that treaty, are different from any with which that country may have passed under the treaties of St. Germain's and Breda; and then endeavoured to shew, upon the testimonies of maps and historians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the south-eastern part of the peninsula. In support of this system, the French commissaries had recourse to ancient maps and historians, who, as they asserted, had ever confined Acadia to the limits they assigned. They alledged, that those commissions of the French government over Acadia, which the English cited as evidence of the limits they claimed, were given as commissions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia only: that the whole of the country claimed by the English as Acadia, could not possibly be supposed ever to be considered as such, because many parts of that territory always did, and still do, preserve particular and distinct names. They affirmed New France to be a province in itself; and argued, that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, because historians and the French commissions of government expressly place them in New France. They asserted that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with respect to the limits of any country, from its declaration during the negociation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying upon maps and historians for the ancient limits of Acadia,

CHAP. II. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

they pretended that the express restitution of St. Germain's and the possession taken by France in consequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long discussion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negociation of the treaty of Utrecht, were foreign to the point in question. In refutation of these maxims, the English commissaries proved, from an examination of the maps and historians cited by the French in support of their system, that if this question was to be decided, upon the authorities which they themselves allowed to belong, and to be applicable to this discussion, the limits which they assigned were utterly inconsistent with the best maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almost every part of the claim of Great-Britain. They shewed, that the French historians, Champlain and Denys, and particularly this last, with his commission in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-five, assigned the same northern and western limits to Acadia which they did; and that Escarbot, another of their historians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees entirely with the former two. They observed, that all these evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the several transactions between the two crowns for near a century past; and that the French commissaries, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceeding of the two crowns, to ancient historians and maps, only made a transition from an authentick to an insufficient sort of evidence, and led the English commissaries into an inquiry, which proved, that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, upon which this matter had been rested, equally confuted the limits alleged by the French commissaries as the ancient limits of Acadia.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§ I. *Ambitious schemes of the French in North-America.* § II. *Rise and conduct of the Ohio Company.* § III. *Letter from the Governor of Virginia to the French Commander at Riviere-au-Bœuf.* § IV. *Perfidious practices of the French in Nova-Scotia.* § V. *Major Laurence defeats the French neutrals.* § VI. *British Ambassador at Paris amused with general promises.* § VII. *Session opened* § VIII. *Supplies granted.* § IX. *Repeal of the act for naturalizing Jews.* § X. *Motion for repealing a former act favourable to the Jews.* § XI. *East-India mutiny-bill.* § XII. *Case of Le ——.* § XIII. *Session closed.* § XIV. *Death of Mr. Pelham. Change in the ministry.* § XV. *New Parliament assembled and prorogued.* § XVI. *Disputes in the Irish Parliament.* § XVII. *Transactions in the East-Indies.* § XVIII. *Account of the English settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coast.* § XIX. *Dispute about the government of Arcot.* § XX. *Mahommed Ali Khan supported by the English.* § XXI. *Mr. Clive takes Arcot.* § XXII. *And defeats the enemy in the plains of Arania, and at Koveripauk.* § XXIII. *He reduces three forts, and takes M. d'Anteuil.* § XXIV. *Chunda Saib taken and put to death, and his army routed.* § XXV. *Convention between the East-India Companies of England and France.* § XXVI. *General view of the British colonies in North-America.* § XXVII. *New-England and New-York.* § XXVIII. *New Jersey.* § XXIX. *Pennsylvania.* § XXX. *Maryland.* § XXXI. *Virginia.* § XXXII. *The two Carolinas.* § XXXIII. *Georgia.* § XXXIV. *The French surprize Logs-Town, on the Ohio.* § XXXV. *Conference with the Indians at Albany.* § XXXVI. *Colonel Washington defeated and taken by the French on the Ohio.* § XXXVII. *Divisions among the British colonies.* § XXXVIII.

§ XXXVIII. *The Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel professes the Roman Catholick religion.* § XXXIX. *Parliament of Paris recalled from exile.* § XL. *Affairs of Spain and Portugal.* § XLI. *Session opened.* § XLII. *Supplies granted.* § XLIII. *Bill in behalf of Chelsea pensioners.* § XLIV. *Oxfordshire election.* § XLV. *Message from the King to the House of Commons.* § XLVI. *Court of Versailles amuses the English ministry.* § XLVII. *Session closed.*

BOOK III.

1758.

§ I. WHILE the British ministry depended upon the success of the conferences between the Commissaries of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actually employed in executing their plans of encroachment upon the British colonies in North-America. The scheme was to engross the whole fur-trade of that continent, and they had already made great progress in extending a chain of forts, connecting their settlements on the river Mississippi with their possessions in Canada, along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, which last issues into the river St. Lawrence. By these means they hoped to exclude the English from all communication and traffick with the Indian nations, even those that lay contiguous to the British settlements, and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they should neither extend their trade nor plantations. Their commercial spirit did not keep pace with the gigantick strides of their ambition: they could not supply all those Indians with the necessaries they wanted, so that many of the natives had recourse to the English settlements; and this commerce produced a connection, in consequence of which the British adventurers ventured to travel with merchandize as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Mississippi, a great way on the other side of the Apalachian mountains, beyond which none of our colonists had ever attempted to penetrate.

penetrate. The tract of country lying along the Ohio is so fertile, pleasant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit those delightful plains, were so well disposed towards a close alliance with the English, that, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, Mr. Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, proposed a plan for erecting a company to settle such lands upon this river as should be ceded to them by treaty with the natives; but the design was at that time frustrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the British ministry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by the jealousies and divisions subsisting between the different colonies of Great-Britain. The very same circumstances encouraged the French to proceed in their project of invasion. At length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Lawrence, across lake Champlain, and upon the territory of New-York built with impunity, and indeed, without opposition, the fort of Crown-Point, the most insolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution.

§ II. Governor Spotswood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when certain merchants of London who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this subject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a great tract of ground to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle, but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This design no sooner transpired than the French Governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the Governor of New-York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand, that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his Sovereign, he would seize

BOOK III. 1753.

seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year caused three British traders to be arrested. Their effects were confiscated, and they themselves conveyed to Quebeck, from whence they were sent prisoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this situation they presented a remonstrance to the Earl of Albemarle, at that time English Ambassador at Paris, and he claiming them as British subjects, they were set at liberty. Although, in answer to his Lordship's memorial, the Court of Versailles promised to transmit orders to the French Governors in America to use all their endeavours for preventing any disputes that might have a tendency to alter the good correspondence established between the two nations: in all probability the directions giving were seemingly the very reverse of these professions, for the French commanders, partisans, and agents in America, took every step their busy genius could suggest, to strengthen their own power and weaken the influence of the English by embroiling them with the Indian nations. This task they found the more easy, as the natives had taken offence against the English, when they understood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a design to build forts in their country, without their consent and concurrence. Indeed the person whom the new company employed to survey the banks of the Ohio concealed his design so carefully, and behaved in other respects in such a dark mysterious manner, as could not fail to rouse the jealousy of a people naturally inquisitive, and very much addicted to suspicion. How the Company proposed to settle this acquisition in despite of the native possessors it is not easy to conceive, and it is still more unaccountable that they should have neglected the natives, whose consent and assistance they might have procured

procured at a very small expence. Instead of acting such a fair, open, and honourable part, they sent a Mr. Gist to make a clandestine survey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and, as we have observed above, his conduct alarmed both the French, and Indians. The erection of this company was equally disagreeable to the separate traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who saw themselves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffick, by the exclusive charter of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emissaries to foment the jealousy of the Indians.

§ III. The French having in a manner commenced hostilities against the English, and actually built forts on the territories of the British allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, Mr. Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania, communicated this intelligence to the Assembly of the province, and represented the necessity of erecting trunk-houses, or places of strength and security, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in case of insult or molestation. The proposal was approved, and money granted for the purpose; but the Assembly could not agree about the manner in which they should be erected; and in the mean time the French fortified themselves at leisure, and continued to harass the traders belonging to the British settlements. Repeated complaints of these encroachments and depredations being represented to Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, he towards the latter end of this very year, sent Major Washington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French had built on the Riviere-au-Bœuf, which falls into the Ohio, not far from the lake Erie. In this letter Mr. Dinwiddie expressed his surprize that the French should build forts and make settlements on the river Ohio, in the western part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain. He complained of these encroachments, as well as of the injuries done to the subjects of Great-Britain, in open violation

BOOK III. 1753.

violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually subsisting between the two Crowns. He desired to know by whose authority and instructions his Britannick Majesty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace, without further prosecuting a plan which must interrupt the harmony and good understanding which his Majesty was desirous to continue and cultivate with the Most Christian King. To this spirited intimation the officer replied, That it was not his province to specify the evidence, and demonstrate the right of the King his master to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but he would transmit the letter to the Marquis du Quesne, and act according to the answer he should receive from that nobleman. In the mean time, he said he did not think himself obliged to obey the summons of the English Governor; that he commanded the fort by virtue of an order from his General, to which he was determined to conform with all the precision and resolution of a good officer. Mr. Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. The province undertook to defray the expence, and the stores for that purpose were already provided; but by some fatal oversight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor solicited, and therefore, they looked upon this measure with an evil eye, as a manifest invasion of their property.

§ IV. While the French thus industriously extended their encroachments to the southward; they were not idle in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but seized every opportunity of distressing the English settlement of Nova-Scotia. We have already observed, that the town of Halifax was no sooner built, than they spirited up the Indians of that neighbourhood to commit hostilities against the inhabitants, some of whom they murdered, and others they carried prisoners to Louisbourg, where they sold them for arms and ammunition, the French pretending that they

they maintained this traffick from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives, whom, however, they did not set at liberty without exacting an exorbitant ransom. As these skulking parties of Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the Governor of Louisbourgh, who still answered, that his jurisdiction did not extend over the Indians, and that their French conductors were chosen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the English, and were, in fact, the subjects of Great-Britain. Even while the conferences were carried on for ascertaining the limits of Nova-Scotia, the Governor of Canada detached Mr. La Corne, with some regular troops, and a body of militia, to fortify a post on the bay of Chignecto, on pretence that this and a great part of the peninsula belonged to his government. The possession of this post not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninsula, and a safe retreat in case of pursuit; but also encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to rise in open rebellion against the English government.

CHAP. III. 1753.

§ V. In the spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, General Cornwallis, Governor of Halifax, detached Major Laurence with a few men to reduce them to obedience. At his approach they burned their towns to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. La Corne, who, thus reinforced, found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, well provided with arms and ammunition. Major Laurence being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he desired to know for what cause the French inhabitants of Nova-Scotia had shaken off their allegiance to the Crown of Great-Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profess. The French officer, without

BOOK III. 1753.

without pretending to account for their behaviour, gave him to understand in general terms, that he had orders to defend his post, and these orders he was determined to obey. The English Major finding himself too weak to attack their united force, and having no orders to commit hostilities against any but the Indians and their open abettors, returned to Halifax, without having been able to fulfil the purpose of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (so they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations upon the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent settlements. The English Governor, justly incensed at these outrages, and seeing they would neither submit to the English government themselves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, resolved to expel them effectually from the country they so ill deserved to possess. Major Laurence was again detached with a thousand men, transported by sea to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians entrenched, in order to dispute his landing. Notwithstanding this opposition, he made a descent with a few companies, received and returned a smart fire, and rushing into their entrenchments, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation; leaving a considerable number killed and wounded on the spot. The fugitives saved themselves by crossing a river, on the farther bank of which La Corne stood at the head of the troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependents. He had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour; and now the English built another on the opposite side of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence. This being provided with a good garrison, served as a check upon the French, and in some measure restrained the incursions of their barbarians. Not that it effectually answered this purpose; for the Indians and Neutrals still seized every

every opportunity of attacking the English in the interior parts of the peninsula. In the course of the succeeding year they surprised the little town of Dartmouth, on the other side of Halifax-bay, where they killed and scalped a great number of people, and carried off some prisoners. For these expeditions the French always supplied them with boats, canoes, arms, and ammunition; and indeed they were conducted with such care and secrecy, that it was almost impossible to prevent their success. One sure remedy against the sudden and stolen incursions of those savages might have been found in the use of staunch hounds, which would have run upon the foot, detected the skulking parties of the Indians, and frustrated all their ambuscades: but this expedient, so easy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in publick to the attention of the government, and the consideration of the colonists. The Indians continued to plunder and massacre the British subjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now strengthened their lodgment on the neck of the peninsula with an additional fort, distinguished by the name of Bay-verte; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north side of the bay of Fundy.

CHAP. III. 1753.

§. VI. All these previous steps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commissaries of both nations were disputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly usurped; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the southward, without paying the least regard to the expostulations of the English Governors, or to a memorial presented at Versailles by the Earl of Albemarle, the British Minister. He demanded that express orders should be sent to M. De la Jonquiere, the Commander for the French in America, to desist from violence against the British subjects in that country; that the fort of Niagara

BOOK III. 1753.

should be immediately rased; that the subjects of Great-Britain, who had been made prisoners, should be set at liberty, and indemnified for the losses they had sustained: and that the persons who had committed these excesses should be punished in an exemplary manner. True it is, six Englishmen, whom they had unjustly taken, were immediately dismissed; and the Ambassador amused with general promises of sending such instructions to the French Governor in America, as should anticipate any cause of complaint for the future; but, far from having any intention to perform these promises, the Court of Versailles, without all doubt, exhorted La Jonquiere to proceed in bringing its ambitious schemes to perfection.

§ VII. Every incident in America seemed to prognosticate war, when the session of Parliament was opened on the fifteenth day of November; yet his Majesty, on this occasion, told them, that the events of the year had not made it necessary for him to offer any thing in particular to their consideration relating to foreign affairs. He even declared, that the continuance of the publick tranquillity, and the general state of Europe, remained upon the same footing as when they last parted; and assured them of his steadiness in pursuing the most effectual measures to preserve to his people the blessings of peace. He expressed uncommon concern, that the horrid crimes of robbery and of murder were of late rather increased than diminished, and earnestly recommended this important object to their serious attention. Affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses in answer to this harangue; and, what was very remarkable, they were proposed and passed without question or debate.

§ VIII. The Commons continued the same number of seamen and land-forces for the ensuing year, which had been granted in the last session, and made suitable provision for all the exigencies of the state. The whole supply amounted to two millions seven hundred

hundred ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and sixteen pounds, ten shillings, and two-pence, to be raised by a land-tax of two shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cyder, and beer imported, a sum taken from the sinking-fund; and the overplus of certain grants, funds, and duties. The provisions made considerably exceeded the grants; but this excess was chargeable with the interest of what should be borrowed upon the credit in the land or malt-tax, there being a clause of credit in both, as also with the deficiency (if any should happen) in the sums they were computed to produce. The House agreed to all these resolutions almost unanimously: indeed, no opposition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the same number of land-forces, which was carried by a great majority. CHAP. III. 1753.

§ IX. The act permitting Jews to be naturalized, which had, during the last session, triumphed over such an obstinate opposition, was by this time become the subject of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom resounded with the reproach of the ministry who had enforced such an odious measure; and the two brothers, who engrossed the greater part of the administration, trembled at the prospect of what this clamour might produce at the general election, this being the last session of the present Parliament. So eager were the ministers to annul this unpopular measure, that, immediately after the Peers had agreed to the nature and form of an address to his Majesty, the Duke of Newcastle, with that precipitation so peculiar to his character, poured forth an abrupt harangue in that House, importing, that the disaffected had made an handle of the act passed last session in favour of the Jews, to raise discontents among many of his Majesty's good subjects; and as the act was in itself of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed; for this purpose he presented a bill ready framed,

BOOK III.

1753.

framed, which was read and committed, though not without some debate. The naturalization bill, now devoted as a sacrifice to the resentment of the people, contained a clause disabling all naturalized Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation, or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donative; and by the first draft of the bill, which his Grace now presented, it was intended that this clause should not be repealed. It was the opinion however, of the majority, that such a clause standing unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expressly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, would be considered as having the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom. On this consideration an amendment was made in the bill, the clause in question was left out, and the whole act of naturalization repealed without exception*. Though the Lords in general concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by some few, as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamours of the multitude; and upon this side of the debate a great power of elocution was displayed by Earl Temple, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother, a nobleman of distinguished abilities, and the most amiable disposition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honour of his country. In the Lower House, the members of both parties seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of aversion to this unpopular act. On the very first day of the session, immediately after

* The reverend bench of Bishops had, with a laudable spirit of Christian meekness and philanthropy, generally approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren; and now they acquiesced in the proposed repeal with the same passive discretion, though one of the number contended for the saving clause which the Duke of N—— had recommended.

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the motion for an address to his Majesty, Sir James Dashwood, an eminent leader in the opposition, gave the Commons to understand, that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member, as soon as the motion for the address should be discussed; he therefore desired they would not quit the House, until he should have an opportunity to explain his proposal. Accordingly, they had no sooner agreed to the motion for an address of thanks to his Majesty, than he stood up again; and having expatiated upon the just and general indignation which the act of the preceding session, in favour of the Jews, had raised among the people, he moved to order that the House should be called over on Tuesday the fourth day of December, for taking that act into consideration: but being given to understand, that it was not usual to appoint a call of the House for any particular purpose, he agreed that the motion should be general. It was seconded by Lord Parker, his opposite in political interests; the House agreed to it without opposition, and the call was ordered accordingly. They were anticipated however, by the Lords, who framed and transmitted to them a bill on the same subject, to the purport of which the Commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election before his eyes, carefully avoided every expression which could give umbrage to his constituents: but violent opposition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following strain:—"Whereas an act of "Parliament was made and passed in the twenty-"fifth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, An "Act to permit persons professing the Jewish reli-"gion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for "other purposes therein mentioned; and whereas "occasion has been taken, from the said act, to "raise discontents, and disquiets in the minds of his "Majesty's subjects, be it enacted, &c." This introduction

CHAP. III. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

troduction was considered as an unjust reflection upon the body of the people in general, and in particular upon those who had opposed the bill in the course of the preceding session. Sir Roger Newdigate therefore moved, that the expression should be varied to this effect: "Whereas great discontents and dis-"quietudes had from the said act arisen." The consequence of this motion was an obstinate debate, in which it was supported by the Earl of Egmont, and divers other able orators; but Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt were numbered among its opponents. The question being put for the proposed alteration, it was of course carried in the negative: the bill, after the third reading, passed *nemine contradicente*, and in due time obtained the Royal assent.

§ X. Even this concession of the ministry did not allay the resentment of the people, and their apprehensions of encroachment from the Jews. Another act still subsisted by virtue of which any person professing the Jewish religion might become a free denizen of Great-Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his Majesty's colonies in America; and this was now considered as a law, having the same dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted. It was moved, therefore, in the Lower House, that part of this former act might be read: then the same member made a motion for an address to his Majesty, desiring that the House might have the perusal of the lists transmitted from the American colonies to the commissioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of all such persons professing the Jewish religion, as had entitled themselves to the benefit of the said act, since the year one thousand seven hundred and forty. These lists were accordingly presented, and left upon the table for the perusal of the members: but as this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it should be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a

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good deal of trouble and some expence, very few persons had availed themselves of it in that period. Nevertheless, as a great number of Jews were already entitled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great-Britain might be deluged with those people, all of whom the law would hold as natural-born subjects, and their progeny as freed from all the restrictions contained in the act with respect to naturalized foreigners, Lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the said act as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should come to settle in any British colony after a certain time. The motion was seconded by Sir James Dashwood, and supported by the Earl of Egmont; but being found unequal to the interest and elocution of Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt, was rejected by the majority. CHAP. III. 1753.

§ XI. The next object that claimed the attention of the Commons, was a bill for improving the regulations already made to prevent the spreading of a contagious distemper, which raged among the horned cattle in different parts of the kingdom. The last bill of this session that had the good fortune to succeed, was brought in for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East-India company, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East-Indies and the island of St. Helena. This being a measure of a very extraordinary nature, all the members were ordered to attend the House on the day affixed for the second reading: at the same time all charters, commissions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military jurisdiction, or the exercise of martial law, had been granted or derived from the crown to the said company, were submitted to the perusal of the members. The bill was by many considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects, and as such violently contested by the Earl of Egmont An. 1754.

BOOK III. 1754.

mont, Lord Strange, and Mr. Alderman Beckford. Their objections were answered by the Solicitor-General and Mr. Yorke. The bill, after some warm debates, being espoused by the ministry, was enacted into a law, and dispatched to the East-Indies by the first opportunity.

§ XII. Some other motions were made, and petitions presented on different subjects, which, as they miscarried, it will be unnecessary to particularise. It may not be amiss, however, to record an exemplary act of justice done by the Commons on a person belonging to a publick office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and imposition. Notwithstanding the particular care taken in the last session, to prevent the monopolizing of tickets in the state-lottery, all those precautions had been eluded in a scandalous manner by certain individuals, entrusted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which expressly declared that not more than twenty should be sold to any one person. Instead of conforming to these directions of the legislature, they and their friends engrossed great numbers, sheltering themselves under a false list of feigned names for the purpose; by which means they not only defeated the equitable intention of the Commons, but in some measure injured the publick credit; inasmuch as their avarice had prompted them to subscribe for a greater number than they had cash to purchase, so that there was a deficiency in the first payment, which might have had a bad effect on the publick affairs. These practices were so flagrant and notorious as to attract the notice of the Lower House, where an inquiry was begun, and prosecuted with a spirit of real patriotism, in opposition to a scandalous cabal, who endeavoured with equal eagerness and perseverance to screen the delinquents. All their efforts, however, proved abortive; and a committee, appointed to examine particulars, agreed to several severe

severe resolutions against one Le—, who had amassed a large fortune by this and other kinds of peculation. They voted him guilty of a breach of trust, and a direct violation of the lottery act: and an address was presented to his Majesty, desiring he might be prosecuted by the Attorney-General for these offences. He was accordingly sued in the court of King's-Bench, and paid a fine of one thousand pounds, for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that sum: but he was treated with such gentleness as remarkably denoted the clemency of that tribunal. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XIII. The session ended in the beginning of April, when the King gave the Parliament to understand that he should say nothing at present on foreign affairs; but assured them of his fixed resolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to such measures for that purpose as he had hitherto pursued in conjunction with his allies. He in very affectionate terms thanked both Houses for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his person and government. He enumerated the salutary measures they had taken for lessening the national debt, and augmenting the publick credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil œconomy. He concluded with declaring, that he securely relied upon the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happiness. In a little time after the close of this session they were dissolved by proclamation, and new writs issued by the Lord Chancellor for convoking a new Parliament. The same ceremonies were practised with respect to the convocations of Canterbury and York; though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they suffered to sit and deliberate upon the

BOOK III. the subjects which formerly fell under their cognizance and discussion.

1754. § XIV. In the beginning of March, the ministry of Great-Britain had been left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham, which was not only sincerely lamented by his Sovereign, but also regretted by the nation in general, to whose affection he had powerfully recommended himself by the candour and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he pursued measures which they did not entirely approve. The loss of such a minister was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new Parliament, when every administration is supposed to exert itself with redoubled vigilance and circumspection. He had already concerted the measures for securing a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who still engrossed the administration. His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, was appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and succeeded as Secretary of State by Sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as Ambassador at the Court of Vienna. The other department of this office was still retained by the Earl of Holdernesse; and the function of Chancellor of the Exchequer was performed as usual by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, until a proper person could be found to fill that important office; but in the course of the summer it was bestowed upon Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself with equal honour and capacity. Divers other alterations were made, of less importance to the publick, Sir George Lyttleton was appointed Cofferer, and the Earl of Hillsborough Comptroller of the Household. Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, became Treasurer of the Navy: and Mr. Charles Townshend, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, took place as a Commissioner at the Board of Admiralty, in the room of

of Lord Barrington, made Master of the Wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an Earl. The place of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was filled with Sir Dudley Rider, and he was succeeded by Mr. Murray in the office of Attorney-General.

§ XV. The elections for the new Parliament generally succeeded according to the wish of the ministry; for opposition was now dwindled down to the lowest state of imbecility. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late Prince of Wales, whose adherents were too wise to pursue an *ignis fatuus*, without any prospect of success or advantage. Some of them had prudently sung their palinodia to the ministry, and been gratified with profitable employments; while others, setting too great a price upon their own importance, kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pine in secret over their disappointed ambition. The maxims of Toryism had been relinquished by many, as the barren principles of a losing game; the body of the people were conciliated to the established government; and the harmony that now, for the first time, subsisted among all the branches of the Royal Family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed. The writs being returned, the new Parliament was opened on the last day of May, by the Duke of Cumberland, and some other Peers, who acted by virtue of a commission from his Majesty. The Commons having chosen for their Speaker the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, who had honourably filled that high office in four preceding parliaments, he was presented and approved by the Commisioners. Then the Lord High Chancellor harangued both Houses, giving them to understand, that his Majesty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete without

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BOOK III. 1754.

loss of time certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the satisfaction of his good subjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general business, reserving every thing of that nature to the usual time of their assembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June this short session was closed, and the Parliament prorogued by the Lords Commissioners.

§ XVI. In the beginning of this year violent disputes arose between the government and the House of Commons in Ireland, on the almost forgotten subjects of privilege and prerogative. The Commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the surplus of their revenue towards national purposes, without the consent of their Sovereign; and, accordingly, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, prepared a bill with this preamble: "Whereas on the twenty fifth-day of "March last a considerable balance remained in the "hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers-General "of the kindom, or their deputy or deputies, un-"applied; and it will be for your Majesty's service, "and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this "kingdom, that so much thereof as can be con-"veniently spared should be paid, agreeably to "your Majesty's most gracious intentions, in dis-"charge of part of the national debt." This appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed that the Commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, or even to take any such affair into consideration, without the previous consent of the crown expressed in the most explicit terms. It was in consequence of this doctrine, that the Duke of Dorset, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, told them in the next session of Parliament, held in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his

his subjects, would graciously consent, and recommended it to them; that such a part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. This declaration alarmed the Commons, zealous as they were for the preservation of their privileges; and in their address of thanks, which, like that of the Parliament of Great-Britain used always to echo back the words of the speech, they made no mention of his Majesty's consent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their ease and happiness, in recommending to them the application of the surplus. They accordingly resolved to apply one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of that overplus towards the discharge of the national debt; and, in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpose, made no mention of his Majesty's consent, though before they had acknowledged his goodness in recommending this application. The ministry in England were highly offended at this purposed omission, which they construed into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was sent back with an alteration in the preamble, signifying his Majesty's consent as well as recommendation. The Irish House of Commons being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a servant of the crown, and a member of their own House, accused of having misapplied a large sum of money, with which he had been entrusted, for rebuilding or repairing the barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themselves farther with the government, until this affair should be discussed. They, therefore, passed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their inquiry. The person was convicted of having misapplied the publick money, and ordered to make the barracks fit for the reception and accommodation of the troops at his own expence. They did not, how-

CHAP. III. 1754.

BOOK III. 1754.

ever, neglect to assert what they thought their rights and privileges, when the next opportunity occurred. The Duke of Dorset, when he opened the session of this year, repeated the expression of his Majesty's gracious consent, in mentioning the surplus of the publick money. They again omitted that word in their address: and resolved, in their bill of application, not not only to sink this odious term, but likewise to abate in their complaisance to the crown, by leaving out that expression of grateful acknowledgement, which had met with such a cold reception above. By this time the contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole Irish nation. The committee who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a very plain dress, quite destitute of all embroidery. The ministry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative from such an unmannerly attack, filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration: "And "your Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously "pleased to signify that you would consent, and to "recommend it to us, that so much of the money "remaining in your Majesty's treasury as should be "necessary to be applied to the discharge of the "national debt, or such part thereof as should be "thought expedient by Parliament." This then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, namely, whether the people in Parliament assembled have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most zealously attached to the liberties of their country resolved to exert themselves in opposing what they conceived to be a violation of those liberties; and the

the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The success of their endeavours was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotism over the arts of ministerial corruption; and, on the other hand, all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry on this occasion, were in a little time dismissed from their employments. The rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the creditors of the publick, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated. These calamities were imputed to arbitrary designs in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthusiastick spirit of independency, which might have produced mischievous effects, had not artful steps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and thus divert the stream of popular clamour from the ministry to those very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The Speaker of the House of Commons was promoted to the dignity of an Earl; and some other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His Majesty's letter arrived for paying off seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds of the national debt. The circulation was thus animated, and the resentment of the populace subsiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquillity.

CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XVII. The ambition and intrigues of the French Court, by which the British interest was invaded and disturbed on the continent of America, had also extended itself to the East-Indies, where they endeavoured to embroil the English company with divers Nabobs, or Princes, who governed different parts of the peninsula intrà Gangem. That the reader may have a clear and distinct idea of these transactions, we shall exhibit a short sketch of the English forts and settlements in that remote country. The first of these we shall mention is Surat*, in the province

* Several European nations had settlements at Surat, which was one of the most frequented cities of the East, from the great concourse of

BOOK III. 1754.

province so called, situated between the twenty-first and twenty-second degrees of north latitude: from hence the peninsula stretches into the Indian ocean as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comòrin, which is the southern extremity. To the northward this peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greatest breadth extends seven hundred miles. Upon the west, east, and south it is washed by the sea. It comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Bisnagar, with the principalities of Gingi, Tanjour, and Madura. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast: the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comorin to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the English and other European powers have, with the consent of the Mogul, established forts and trading settlements. All these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to the Mogul; but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to assert his empire over this remote country; the tributary Princes of which, and even the Nabobs, who were originally Governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority either by tribute or

of Mahometan pilgrims, who make it their road from India, in their visits to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. In order to keep the seas clear of pirates between Surat and the gulf of Arabia and Persia, the Mogul had been at the annual expence of a large ship fitted out on purpose to carry the pilgrims to Judda, which is within a small distance of Mecca. For the security of this ship, as well as to protect the trade of Surat, he granted to his Admiral, *the siddee*, chief of a colonel of caffrees, or blacks, a revenue called the Tanka, to the value of three lacks of rupees, amounting to above thirty-seven thousand pounds, arising partly from the adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him yearly by the Governor of the castle, who is appointed by the Mogul to keep the city under proper subjection, without, however, interfering with the government of it.

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homage. These Princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to the assistance of such European powers as are settled in or near their dominions; and in the same manner the East-Indian companies of the European powers which happen to be at war with each other never fail to interest the nabobs in the dispute. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XVIII. The next English settlement to Surat, on the coast of the peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a small island, with a very convenient harbour, about five-and-forty leagues to the south of Surat. The town is very populous: but the soil is barren, and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the neighbourhood of the famous Corsair Angria, until his port of Geriah was taken, and his fortifications demolished. The English company likewise carry on some traffick at Dabul, about forty leagues farther to the south, in the province of Cuncan. In the same southerly progression, towards the point of the peninsula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a small fort and factory, belonging to the company, standing on the south side of a bay, with a river, capable of receiving ships of pretty large burthen. The climate here is remarkably salubrious; the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood. The next English settlement we find at Tillicherry, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insults of the Rajah, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the English trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, that stands fifteen leagues to the southward of Tillicherry, and was as well frequented as any port on the coast of the Indian peninsula. The most southerly settlement which the English possess on the Malabar coast is that of Anjengo, between the eighth and ninth degrees of latitude.

BOOK III. 1754.

latitude. It is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river, which falls into the sea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too shallow to admit ships of considerable burthen. Then turning the cape, and passing through the strait of Chilao, formed by the island of Ceylon, we arrive on the coast of Coromandel, which forms the eastern side of the isthmus. Prosecuting our course in the northern direction, the first English factory we reach is that of fort St. David's, formerly called Tegapatan, situated in the latitude of eleven degrees forty minutes north, within the kingdom of Gingi. It was about six-and-twenty years ago sold by a Mahratta Prince to the East-India company, and, next to Bombay, is the most considerable settlement we have yet mentioned. Its territory extends about eight miles along the coast, and half that space up to the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers: the soil is fertile, and the climate healthy. The fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, which is the more necessary, on account of the neighbourhood of the French settlement at Pondicherry*. But the chief settlement belonging to the company on this coast is that of Madras, or Fort St. George, standing farther to the northward, between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. It is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that, in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean. As the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea-breezes. On the land-side it is defended by a salt-water river, which, while it contributes to the security of the place, robs the

* The trade consists of long cloths of different colours, sallampores, morees, dimities, ginghams, and succatoons.

inhabitants of one great comfort, by obstructing the springs of fresh water. The fort is a regular square, the town surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery, and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madras, with several villages in the neighbourhood, was purchased of the King of Golconda, before the Mogul became Sovereign of this country. The Governor of this place is not only president of Fort St. George, but also of all the other settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the islands of Sumatra. He lives in great pomp, having inferior judges, who pass sentence of death occasionally on malefactors of any nation, except the subjects of Great-Britain. All the company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are invested with the power of inflicting corporal punishment, short of life and member, upon such Europeans as are in the service, and dispose of all places of trust and profit. By virtue of an act passed in the course of this very session, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and punish their soldiers according to the degree of their delinquency. In a word Madras is of the utmost importance to the company for its strength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in calicoes and muslins. Towards the latter end of the last century the English company had a flourishing factory at Masulipatam, standing on the north side of the river Nagundi, which separates the provinces of Golconda and Bisnagar, in the latitude of sixteen degrees and thirty minutes; but now there is no European settlement here, except a Dutch Factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce. At Visgapatam, situated still farther to the northward, the English possess a factory, regularly fortified, on the side of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. The adjacent country affords cotton cloths, and the best striped muslins of India

BOOK III.

1754.

India. It is chiefly for the use of this settlement that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the most eastern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar canes. Still farther to the north coast, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees, the company maintains a factory at Balasore, which was formerly very considerable; but hath been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ship bound for Bengal and the Ganges takes in a pilot. The climate is not counted very salubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk. Without skilful pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal. On the southern branch is a town called Pipely, where there was formerly an English factory; but this was removed to Huguely, one hundred and sixty miles father up the river; a place which together with the company's settlement at Calcutta, were the emporiums of their commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal. Indeed Huguely is now abandoned by the English, and their whole trade centers at Calcutta or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store-houses for the company's merchandize, and magazines for their ammunition. As for the Governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, it is one of the most regular structures in all India. Besides these settlements along the sea-coast of the peninsula, and on the banks of the Ganges, the English East-India company possess certain inland factories and posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the Nabobs and Rajahs, or conquered in the course of the war. As the operations

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we propose to record were confined to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries which form the peninsula intrá Gangem, it will be unnecessary to describe the factory at Bancoolen, on the island of Sumatra, or any settlement which the English possess in other parts of the East-Indies. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XIX. In order to understand the military transactions of the English company in India, the reader will take notice, that immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Monsieur Dupleix, who commanded for the French in that country, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissension among the Nabobs, that he might be the better able to fish in troubled waters. Nizam Almuluck, the Mogul's Viceroy of Decan, having the right of nominating a Governor of the Carnatick, now more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot, appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five. The Viceroy dying was succeeded in his Viceroyalty or Subaship, by his second son Nazirzing, whom the Mogul confirmed. He was opposed in his pretensions by his own cousin Muzapherzing, who had recourse to the assistance of M. Dupleix, and obtained from him a reinforcement of Europeans and artillery, in consideration of many presents and promises which he fulfilled in the sequel. Thus reinforced and joined by one Chunda Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under Colonel Laurence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzapherzing, seeing himself abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who spared his life, but detained him as a State prisoner. In this situation, he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the Nabobs of Cadupab and Condaneor, then in his camp; and the cospirators were

BOOK III.

1754.

encouraged in the scheme by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus stimulated they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing Viceroy of Decan. In the tents of the murdered Viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to M. Dupleix, whom Muzapherzing the usurper at this time associated in the government. By virtue of this association the Frenchman assumed the state and formalities of an eastern Prince; and he and his colleague Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib Nabob of Arcot; Anaverdy Khan, the late Nabob, had been, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, defeated and slain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the assistance of their French auxiliaries; and his son Mahommed Ali Khan had put himself under the protection of the English at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing, as his father's successor in the Nabobship, or government of Arcot. This government, therefore, was disputed between Mahommed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal Viceroy Nazirzing, supported by the English company, and Chunda Saib, nominated by the usurper Muzapherzing, and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long survive his usurpation. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, the same Nabobs who had promoted him to his kinsman's place, thinking themseves ill rewarded for their services, fell upon him suddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, Viceroy of Decan; on the other hand, the Mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing: and this Prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the Mogul's Court were then in such confusion, that he could not spare an army to support the nomination he had made.

Chunda

Chunda Saib, Nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the Great Mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French General at Pondicherry, who reinforced him with two thousand seapoys, or soldiers of the country, sixty caffrees, and four hundred and twenty French troops, on condition that, if he proved successful in his enterprize, he should cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-fives villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, reassumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated by his French allies. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XX. Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Tiruchirapalli*, and solicited the assistance of the English, who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Laurence, a brave and experienced officer. By dint of this supply, he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no decisive blow was given. Mahommed afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David's to demand more powerful succours, alleging that his fate was connected with the interest of the English company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coast, should they allow the enemy to proceed in their conquests. In consequence of these representations, he received another strong reinforcement, under the command of Captain Cope; but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who

* Tiruchirapalli, commonly called Trichinopoly, situated near the river Cauveri, above two hundred miles to the southward of Madras, is the capital of a small kingdom belonging to the government of Arcot, and bounded on the east by the kingdom of Tanjore.

BOOK III. 1754.

obtained a complete victory over him. Finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute. Then they detached Captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in a posture of defence; while Captain de Gingins, a Swiss officer, marched at the head of four hundred Europeans to the Nabob's assistance. The two armies being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries. In order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to send a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the first occasions upon which the extraordinary talents of Mr. Clive were displayed. He had entered into the service of the East-India company as a writer, and was considered as a person very indifferently qualified for succeeding in any civil station of life. He now offered his service in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans with five hundred sepoys*.

§ XXI. Such was the resolution, secrecy and dispatch with which he conducted this enterprize, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare their city; but they derived their security from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror. He refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating, That those who were willing to remain in their houses should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their

* The seapoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as soldiers occasionally by all parties.

effects except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this sage conduct he conciliated the affections of the people so entirely, that even those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. The town was in a little time invested by Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib, at the head of a numerous army, and the operations of the siege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches supposed to be practicable; and on the 14th day of October, in the year 1751, gave a general assault. Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception, that they werer epulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

§ XXII. This gallant Englishman, not contented with the reputation he had acquired from his noble defence, was no sooner re-inforced by a detachment under Captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Arani. There, on the third day of December, he attacked them with irresistible impetuosity; and after an obstinate dispute, obtained a complete victory at a very small expence. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram, and Aranie, surrendered to the terror of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to Fort St. David's in triumph. He had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose, when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy. In the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding three hundred Europeans, and assembled a body of the natives,

BOOK III. 1754.

that he might have at least the appearance of an army. With these he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, consisting of fifteen hundred sepoys, seventeen hundred horse, a body of natives, and one hundred and fifty Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were advantageously posted and entrenched, and the day was already far advanced, Mr. Clive advanced against them with his usual intrepidity; but the victory remained for some time in suspense. It was now dark, and the battle doubful, when Mr. Clive sent round a detachment to fall in the rear of the French battery. This attack was executed with great resolution, while the English in front entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed; and though very little tinctured with discipline, displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans. This double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they soon desisted fom all opposition. A considerable carnage ensued; yet the greater part of the enemy, both horse and foot, saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness. The French, to a man, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war: and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

§ XXIII. The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Mr. Clive with his forces returned to Fort St. David's where he found Major Laurence just arived from England*, to take upon him the command of the troops in the Company's service. On the eighteenth day of March this officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by Captain de Gingins at Tiruchirapalli. From hence he detached Mr. Clive with four hundred European soldiers, a few Mahratta horse, and a body of sepoys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to

* Major Laurence had sailed from England in the year 1750.

Pondicherry.

Pondicherry. In the course of this expedition he dislodged a strong body of the foe posted at Samiaveram, and obliged Chunda Saib to throw a body of troops into a strong fortified temple, or pagoda, upon the river Koleroon, which was immediately invested. The commanding officer, in attempting to escape, was slain with some others, and the rest surrendered at discretion. They were still in possession of another fortified temple, which he also besieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having subdued these forts, he marched directly to Volconda, whither he understood the French Commander D'Anteuil had retired. He found that officer entrenched in a village, from whence he drove him with precipitation, and made himself master of the French cannon. The enemy attempted to save themselves in the neighbouring fort; but the gates being shut against them by the Governor, who was apprehensive that they would be followed pell-mell by the English, Mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a considerable slaughter: but his humanity being shocked at this carnage, he sent a flag of truce to the vanquished, with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced. These articles imported, that D'Anteuil, and three other officers, should remain prisoners on parole for one year, that the garrison should be exchanged, and the money and stores be delivered to the Nabob whom the English supported. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XXIV. During these transactions Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of thirty thousand men at Syrinham, an island in the neighbourhood of Tiruchirapalli, which he longed eagerly to possess. Hither Major Laurence marched with his Indian allies*, and took his measures so well, that the enemy's

* His army consisted of twelve hundred Europeans and Topasses in battalions, two thousand sepoys, with the forces of the Nabob, the Kings of Tanjore, Muissack, and the Mahrattas; amounting to

BOOK III. 1754.

my's provisions were entirely intercepted. Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly was taken prisoner by the Nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes which otherwise would have arisen among the captors *. The main body of the army being attacked by Major Laurence, and totally defeated, the island of Syrinham was surrendered, and about a thousand European French soldiers, under the command of Mr. Law, nephew to the famous Law who schemed the Mississippi company, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of cannon, and ten mortars. M. Dupleix, though exceedingly mortified by this disaster, resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused. He proclaimed Rajah Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, Nabob of Arcot; and afterwards pretended, that he himself had received from the Mogul sanids or commissions, appointing him Governor of all the Carnatick, from the river Kristnah, to the sea: but these sanids appeared in the sequel to be forged. In order to complete the comedy, a supposed messenger from Delhi was received at Pondicherry as Ambassador from the Mogul. Dupleix, mounted on an elephant preceded by musick and dancing women, in the oriental manner, received in publick his commission from the hands of the pretended Ambassador. He affected the Eastern state, kept his darbar or court, where he appeared sitting cross-legged on a sopha, and received presents as Prince of the country from his own council, as well

to fifteen hundred horse and ten thousand infantry. Topasses are descendants from the Portuguese. The Mahrattas are native Indians of a very numerous and powerful nation, which hath more than once given law to the Mogul.

* Chunda Saib demanded leave of the Tanjore General to pass through his camp to Tanjore, and this request was granted; but instead of being allowed to pass, he was detained prisoner, and as the Allies could not agree about the manner in which he should be disposed of, some of the Tanjore officers, of their own accord, ended the dispute by cutting off his head.

as

as from the natives. In the mean time, hostilities, CHAP. III. 1754.
continued between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the contending Nabobs. The English, under Major Kinnier, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Ginge, a strong town situated to the west of Pondicherry. Major Laurence defeated a strong body of French and natives, commanded by Dupleix's nephew, M. de Kerjean, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and took him prisoner, together with fifteen officers: after this success, Mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chengalput, the last very strong, situated about forty miles to the southward of Madras. On the other hand, M. Dupleix intercepted at sea Captain Schaub, with his whole Swiss company, whom he detained prisoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war with each other. During these transactions Sallabatzing, with a body of French under M. de Bussy, advanced towards Aurengabad, which was the seat of government; but he was opposed by a chief of the Mahrattas, at the head of a numerous army. In the mean time, Gawzedy Khan, the elder brother of Sallabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed viceroy of Decan, took possession of his government at Aurengabad, where, in fourteen days after his arrival, he was poisoned by his own sister. The Mogul immediately appointed his son Schah Abadin Khan to succeed his father; and this Prince actually raised an army to come and take possession; but the Mogul's affairs requiring his presence at Delhi, he was obliged to postpone his design, so that Sallabatzing was left without a competitor, and made a present to the French of all the English settlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. Next campaign was chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where Major Laurence made several vigorous attacks upon the enemy's army, and obtained many advantages, which, however, did not prove

BOOK III.

prove decisive; because he was so much out-numbered that he could never follow his blow.

1754. § XXV. In the course of this year, the Mogul was deposed by his General Schah Abadin Khan, the Viceroy of Decan, who raised to the throne Allum Geer, another Prince of the blood. In the succeeding year, a negociation was set on foot by Mr. Saunders, Governor of Madras, and M. Dupleix; and conferences were opened at Sadrass, a Dutch settlement between Pondicherry and fort St. George: but this proved abortive: and many other gallant efforts were made by Major Laurence in the territory of Trichinopoly, which still continued to be the scene of action. In the course of this year Admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Coromandel with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by Colonel Aldercroon: at the same time the ships from France brought over to Pondicherry the Sieur Godeheu, Commissary-general and Governor-general of all their settlements, at whose arrival Dupleix departed for Europe. The new Governor immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, professing the most pacifick inclinations, and proposing a suspension of arms between the two Companies until their disputes could be amicably adjusted. This proposal was very agreeable to the Governor and council at Madras, and a cessation of arms actually took place in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four. Deputies being sent to Pondicherry, a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two Companies should for the future interfere in any difference that might arise between the Princes of the country. The other articles related to the places and settlements that should be retained or possessed by the respective Companies, until fresh orders relating to this agreement should arive from the Courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East-India Companies

panies of France and England. Until such orders should arrive, it was stipulated that neither nation should be allowed to procure any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; and that they should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; but every thing should remain on the footing of *uti possidetis*. How pacifick soever the sentiments of the French subjects might have been at this period in the East-Indies, certain it is, the designs of the French Governors in America were altogether hostile, and their conduct hastening towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every division of the globe. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XXVI. As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal scenes of it were acted on that continent, we shall for the information of the reader, sketch out the situation of the then British colonies as they bordered on each other, and extended along the sea coast, from the gulf of St. Lawrence as far south as the country of Florida. We shall enumerate the Indian nations that he scattered about their confines, and delineate the manner in which the French hemmed them in by a surprising line of fortifications. Should we comprehend Hudson's Bay, with the adjacent countries, and the banks of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we might affirm that Great-Britain at that time possessed a territory along the sea coast, extending seventeen hundred miles in a direct line, from the sixtieth to the thirty-first degree of northern latitude; but as these two countries were not concerned in this dispute, we shall advance from the northward to the southern side of the gulf of St. Lawrence; and beginning with Acadia or Nova-Scotia, describe our settlements as they lie in a southerly direction, as far as the gulf of Florida. This great tract of country, stretching fifteen degrees of latitude, is washed on the east by the Atlantick Ocean: the

BOOK III. 1754.

the southern boundary is Spanish Florida; but to the westward the limits are uncertain, some affirming that the jurisdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent, as far as the South-sea; while others with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illionois that runs into the Mississippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the three first communicating with each other, and the last discharging itself into the river St. Lawrence, which running by Montreal and Quebeck issues into the bay of the same denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova-Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the south side of this river, nevertheless, with an insolence of ambition peculiar to themselves, not only extended their forts from the source of the St. Lawrence, through an immense tract of that country, as far as the Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulf of Florida; but also, by a series of unparalleled encroachments, endeavoured to contract the English colonies within such narrow limits as would have cut off almost one half of their possessions. As we have already given a geographical description of Nova-Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new settlement of Halifax, we shall now only observe, that it is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the gulf, and river of St. Lawrence; that its original boundary to the west was the river Pentagoet; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, because the Crown of Great-Britain did, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, grant to the Duke of York the territory of Sagadahack, stretching from St. Croix, to the river of this name; which was in the sequel, an express charter from the Crown, annexed to the province of Massachussett's-Bay, one of the four governments of New-England. This country, situate next to Nova-Scotia,

Scotia, lies between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, extending near three hundred miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth, if we bound it by those tracts which the French possessed: no part of the settlements of this country, however, stretches above sixty miles from the sea. The summer is here intensely hot, and the winter proportionably severe; nevertheless the climate is healthy, and the sky generally serene. The soil is not favourable to any of the European kinds of grain; but produces great plenty of maize, which the people bake into bread, and brew into beer, though their favourite drink is made of melasses hopped, and impregnated with the tops of the spruce-fir, which is a native of this country. The ground raises good flax and tolerable hemp. Here are great herds of black cattle, some of them very large in size, a vast number of excellent hogs, a breed of small horses, graceful, swift, and hardy; and large flocks of sheep, whose wool, though not so fine as that of England, is manufactured with great success. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XXVII. New-England is composed of the four provinces known by the names of New-Hampshire, Massachusset's-Bay, Rhode-island, and Connecticut. It is bounded on the south by New-York, extending northerly on both sides of the river Hudson, about two hundred miles into the country possessed by the Indians of the Five Nations, whom the French distinguish by the name of the Irroquois; but in breadth this province does not exceed fifty miles, though it comprehends Long-island, lying to the southward of Connecticut. The capital, which derives from the province the name of New-York, is situated on an excellent harbour in the island of Manahatton, extending fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudson, which is navigable for above two hundred miles. At the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from New-York stands the town of Albany, upon the same river.

BOOK III. 1754.

river. In this place all the treaties and other transactions were negociated between the English and the Irroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, who, by their union, courage, and military skill, had reduced a great number of other Indian tribes, and subdued a territory more extensive than the whole kingdom of France. They were about fourscore years ago able to bring ten thousand warriors into the field: but now their number is so greatly diminished by wars, epidemical diseases, and the use of spirituous liquors, that they cannot raise above fifteen hundred men, even though they have admitted into their confederacy the nation of the Tuscaroras, whom the English drove from the confines of Carolina. The Mohock Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany. The northern extremities of New-Hampshire and New-York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raised the fort of Crown-Point.

§ XXVIII. Contiguous to New-York, and lying along the coast, in a southerly direction, is the small province of New-Jersey, bounded on the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania, extending about one hundred and fifty miles in length, but in breadth not more than one third of that extent. The climate, soil, and produce of these two provinces, as well as of Pennsylvania, are similar. They yield great quantities of grain, sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle; all kinds of poultry and game in great abundance; vegetables of every sort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons. Their vast forests abound with oak, ash, beech, chesnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypress, hickery, sassafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted so fit for shipping as that of New-England and Nova-Scotia. These provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp. New-York affords mines of iron, and very rich copper ore is found in New-Jersey.

§ XXIX.

§ XXIX. Pennsylvania, lying to the southward of New-York and New-Jersey, is bounded on the other side by Maryland, stretching two hundred and fifty miles in length, two hundred in breadth, and having no communication with the sea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware. This province was originally settled by Quakers, under the auspices of the celebrated William Penn, whose descendants are still proprietaries of the country. Philadelphia, the capital, stands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, the Delaware and the Sculkel, disposed in the form of a regular oblong, and designed by the original plan to extend from the one to the other. The streets, which are broad, spacious, and uniform, cross each other at right angles, leaving proper spaces for churches, markets, and other publick edifices. The houses are neatly built of brick, the quays spacious and magnificent, the warehouses large and numerous, and the docks commodious and well contrived for ship-building. Pennsylvania is understood to extend as far northerly as the banks of the lake Erie, where the French erected a fort. They also raised another at some distance to the southward of the Riviere-au-Bœuf, and made other encroachments on this colony.

§ XXX. Adjoining to part of Pennsylvania, on the sea-coast, lies the province of Maryland, a tract of land situated along the bay of Chesapeak, in length about one hundred and forty miles, and nearly of the same breadth, bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by the Atlantick Ocean, and by the river Potowmack on the south. This country was first planted with Roman Catholicks by Lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent. In the sequel, however, people of all religions were admitted into this settlement, and indulged with liberty of conscience, and at present the reigning religion is that of the English church. The climate

BOOK III. 1754.

is very sultry in summer, and not very salubrious. The soil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their staple commodity. The seat of government is established at Annapolis, a small town beautifully situated on the river Patuxent.

§ XXXI. Tracing the sea-coast still southerly, the next settlement is Virginia, watered on the north by the river Potowmack, which is the boundary between this and the colony last described, having the bay of Chesapeak to the east, bounded on the south by Carolina, and extending westward without any prescribed limits, though the plantations have reached no farther than the great Allegany mountains; so that the province, as now possessed, stretches in length above two hundred and forty miles, and in breadth not above two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of latitude. In sailing to Virginia, navigators steer through a strait formed by two points, called the Capes, into the bay of Chesapeak, a large inlet that runs three hundred miles into the country from south to north, covered from the Atlantick Ocean by the eastern side of Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia on the same peninsula. This noble bay is about eighteen miles broad for a considerable space, and seven at its narrowest part, yielding generally nine fathoms depth of water: on both sides it receives many navigable rivers, those on the Virginia side being known by the name of James-river, York-river, the Rappahannock, and Potowmack. This country, especially towards the sea, lies very low and swampy, and the soil is extremely fertile. The air and weather are variable, the heats of summer excessive, the frosts of winter sudden and intensely cold; so that, upon the whole, the climate is neither very agreeable nor healthy, the people being particularly subject to agues and pleuritick disorders. The province abounds with vast forests of timber; the plains are covered

covered with a surprizing luxuriancy of vegetables, flowers, and flowering shrubs, diffusing the most delicious fragrance. The ground yields plenty of corn, and every sort of fruit in great abundance and perfection. Horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admiration since they were first imported from Europe. The animals, natives of this and the neighbouring countries, are deer, panthers or tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, squirrels, racoons, and creatures called opossums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diversity of serpents, among which the rattle-snake is the most remarkable.

§ XXXII. Virginia is bounded to the south by the two Carolinas, situated between the forty-sixth and thirty-first degrees of latitude; the length amounting to upwards of four hundred miles, and the breadth extending near three hundred, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbas, the Creeks, and Cherokees. The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the most northern is the most inconsiderable. The climate in both is the same, as well as the soil; the first is warm, though not unhealthy; the last extremely fertile, yielding every thing in plenty which is produced in Virginia, besides abundance of excellent oranges, and some commodities which are not found to the northward. North-Carolina, though not so opulent, is more populous than the southern part. The colonists of North-Carolina carry on a considerable traffick in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork, and beef, tobacco, deer-skins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, and hog's lard, cotton, and squared timber, live cattle, with the skins of beaver, racoon, fox, minx, wild-cat, and otter. South-Carolina is much better cultivated; the people are more civilized, and the commerce more important. The capital of this province called Charles-Town, is finely situated at the confluence of two navigable

BOOK III.

1754.

rivers, having the advantage of a commodious harbour. Their trade, exclusive of the articles we have already mentioned as common to this government and that of North-Carolina, consists of two chief staple commodities, rice and indigo, which they cultivate with great success; and they have likewise made some progress in the culture of silk.

§ XXXIII. The most southern of all our settlements on this coast is Georgia, extending about sixty miles from north to south, along the sea-shore; but widening in the inland parts to above one hundred and fifty, and stretching almost three hundred from the sea to the Apalachin mountains. This country differs very little from that of South-Carolina, with which it borders; yet the summer is here more hot, and the soil not so fertile. Savannah, the capital, stands commodiously for trade, about ten miles from the sea, on a river of the same name, navigable with large boats two hundred miles farther up to the second town called Augusta, a place that flourishes by the Indian trade of skins, which the inhabitants carry on with their neighbours the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and the Cherokees, who are the most numerous and powerful tribes in America. Georgia is bounded on the south by the river Attamaha, at no great distance from the Spanish fort of St. Augustin.

§ XXXIV. Having thus exhibited a succinct view of the British colonies in North-America, for the information of the reader, we shall now resume the thread of our history, and particularize the transactions by which the present year was distinguished on this extensive continent. The government of England having received nothing but evasive answers from the court of France, touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments of America, dispatched orders to all the Governors of that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Accordingly the

the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania took this important affair into their consideration; but while they deliberated, the French vigorously prosecuted their designs on the other side of the mountains, they surprised Log's-town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio; made themselves masters of the Block-house, and Truck-house, where they found skins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, and destroyed all the British traders, except two who found means to escape. At the same time, M. de Contrecœur, with a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced by surprise a British fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monangahela, that runs into the same river. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XXXV. These hostilities were followed by divers skirmishes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various success. At length the Governors of the English settlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy, for their mutual defence; and the Governor of New-York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, with a view to detach them from the French interest by dint of promises and presents of value, sent over for that purpose. A congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the Governor of New-York repaired, accompanied by Commissioners from all the other British settlements: but a very small number of Indians arrived, and even these seemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the English orator. The truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachment to the subjects of Great-Britain. Nevertheless, they accepted the presents, renewed their treaties with the King of England, and even demanded his assistance in driving the French from the posts and

BOOK III.

1754.

possessions they had usurped within the Indian territories. It was in consequence of the measures here taken, that Colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of occasional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New-York, which, however, did not arrive.

§ XXXVI. While he remained in this situation, De Villier, a French Commander, at the head of nine hundred men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jamonville an inferior officer, with a small party, and a formal summons to Colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French; or their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation, that the English fell upon this party, and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Villier, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage and massacred his people. This event was no sooner known in England, than the British Ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry, as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

§ XXXVII. Both nations by this time foresaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition to Quebeck, for the prosecution of her ambitious

ambitious projects; and the ministry of Great-Britain transmitted salutary cautions to the Governors of the provinces in North-America, exhorting them to join their endeavours for repelling the incursions of the enemy. Such an union as seemed necessary for their common preservation was not easily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and interests, both religious and political: besides, every settlement was distracted into factions, formed by the Governor and the demagogues of the assembly; in other words, an opposition like that in Parliament, and a continual struggle between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the proprietor, whether sovereign or subject. Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquisite or fee for every patent he should pass for land, the assembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive. They declared that every man who paid it should be deemed an enemy to his country, and sent over an agent to London, to solicit the suppression of this imposition. The representatives of the people in Pennsylvania wasted the time in vain deliberations and violent disputes with their proprietors, while the enemy infested their frontiers. The colony of New-York was filled with discontent and animosity. Sir Danvers Osborne, who had been appointed Governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New-York, and the instructions he had received were exposed to publick censure. The preamble inveighed severely against the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity, which had lately appeared so notorious in the assembly of that province, who had violated the royal commission and instructions, by assuming to themselves the power to dispose of publick money in the laws which they had occasionally passed. This gentleman was therefore directed to insist upon the reformation of all those publick abuses, and upon the establishment of a certain supply for the service

CHAP. III. 1754.

of

BOOK III. 1754.

of the government, as well as upon the settlement of a salary for himself. Moreover, his Majesty, in these instructions, signified his will and pleasure, That all money raised for the supply and support of government, or upon any emergency for immediate service, should be disposed of and applied properly to the use for which it might be granted, by warrant from the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council of the province, and no otherwise: That, nevertheless, the assembly should be permitted, from time to time, to view and examine the accounts of money disposed of, by virtue of laws which they had enacted: That if any member of the council, or officer holding place of trust or profit within the government, should, in any manner whatever, give his assent to, or in any wise advise or concur with the assembly in passing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be lessened or impaired, or any money be raised or disposed of for the publick service, contrary to, or inconsistent with, the method prescribed by these instructions, the Governor should forthwith remove or suspend such counsellor or officer so offending, and give an immediate account of his proceedings to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. These were peremptory injunctions, which plainly proved that the ministry was determined to support the prerogative with a high hand; but it must be owned, at the same time, that abundance of provocation had been given by the insolent opposition of some turbulent individuals, who had exerted all their influence in disturbing and distressing the views and designs of the government. While the British colonies in America were, by these divisions, in a great measure disabled from making vigorous efforts against the common enemy, the administration at home began to exert itself for their defence. Officers were appointed for two regiments, consisting of two battalions each, to be raised in America, and commanded

commanded by Sir William Pepperel and Governor Shirley, who had enjoyed the same command in the last war, and a body of troops was destined for the same service. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XXXVIII. The most remarkable incident that marked this year, on the continent of Europe, was the conversion of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who had espoused the Princess Mary of England. He now declared himself a Roman Catholick, and was supposed to have been cajoled to this profession by the promises of certain powers, who flattered his ambition, in order to weaken the Protestant interest in Germany. His father, though deeply affected by his son's apostacy, did not fail to take immediate measures for preventing the evil consequences which might otherwise have flowed from his defection. He forthwith assembled the States of the Landgraviate, in order to take such measures as might appear necessary to maintain the religion, laws, and constitution of the country; and the Prince was laid under certain restrictions, which he did not find it an easy task to set aside. It was enacted that when the Regency should devolve to him by succession, he should not have it in his power to alter the established laws, or grant any church to persons of the Roman communion, for the publick exercise of their religion: and that he should be excluded from all share in the education of his sons, the eldest of whom should be put in possession of the country of Hanau upon his father's accession to the Regency of the Landgraviate. These resolutions were guaranteed by the Kings of Prussia and Denmark, by the Maritime Powers, and the Evangelick Body of the Empire.

§ XXXIX. The exile of the Parliament of Paris, far from having intimidated the other tribunals from performing what they apprehended to be their duty, served only to inflame the discontents of the people, and to animate all the courts of Justice to a full

exertion

BOOK III. 1754.

exertion of their authority. The Chatelot continued to prosecute those priests, who refused the sacrament to persons whose consciences would not allow them to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, even after three of their members were sent to the Bastile. The same prosecutions were carried on, and bold remonstrances published by the Parliaments of Aix and Rouen. In a word, the whole kingdom was filled with such confusion as threatened a total suppression of justice, in a general spirit of disaffection, and universal anarchy. The prelates, meanwhile, seemed to triumph in the combustion they had raised. They entered into associations to support each other: they intrigued at court, and harassed the King with insolent declarations, till he grew tired of their proceedings, and opened his eyes to the fatal consequences of their pride and obstinacy. He even took an opportunity of exhorting the Archbishop of Paris to act more suitably to the character of a clergyman. He recalled the Parliament from exile, and they returned in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, who celebrated their arrival at Paris with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy; and the Archbishop, notwithstanding the King's express declaration to the contrary, still persisting in countenancing the rescuant priests, was banished to Conflans-sous-Charenton.

§ XL. In Spain, the interest of Great-Britain was so warmly espoused, and so powerfully supported by Mr. Wall, who had been resident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the Queen-Mother, and sustained with all the influence of the Marquis de la Ensenada, the prime minister, was totally defeated. The King being convinced, that it would be for the interest of his subjects to live on good terms with England, and well apprized of Ensenada's intrigues, ordered the minister to be arrested and confined, and bestowed upon Mr. Wall the best part of his employments. Nevertheless, the

the Spaniards in the West-Indies continued to oppress the subjects of Great-Britain, employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; and representations on this head being made to the Court of Madrid, the dispute was amicably adjusted between Mr. Wall and Sir Benjamin Keene, the British Ambassador. While the interest of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it seemed to lose ground at the Court of Lisbon. His Portuguese Majesty had formed vast projects of an active commerce, and even established an East-India company: in the mean time he could not help manifesting his chagrin at the great quantities of gold which were yearly exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his subjects on English commodities. In his endeavours to check this traffick, which he deemed so detrimental to his subjects, he inflicted hardships on the British merchants settled at Lisbon: some were imprisoned on frivolous pretences: others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom. He insisted upon laying an imposition of two per cent. on all the Portuguese gold that should be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear such an exaction. Meanwhile, there being a scarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was supplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchase this necessary supply, the King saw the necessity of conniving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

§ XLI. On the fourteenth day of November the King of Great-Britain opened the session of Parliament with an harangue, which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture. He said, That the general state of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration since their last meeting; that he had lately received the strongest assurances from his good brother the King of Spain of friendship and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good

BOOK III.

1754.

good faith. He declared his principal view should be to strengthen the foundation, and secure the duration of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and protecting those possessions which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce. Finally, he exhorted them to complete their plan for appropriating the forfeited estates in the Highlands to the service of the publick. He probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might supply no handle for debates on the address, which was carried in both Houses almost without opposition. The government seemed determined to humble the insolence of the French councils; and this disposition was so agreeable to the people in general, that they grudged no expence, and heartily concurred with the demands of the ministry.

§ XLII. The Commons granted for the service of the ensuing year four millions seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine pounds; one million of that sum expressly given for enabling his Majesty to augment his forces by land and sea. Thirty-two thousand pounds were allotted as a subsidy to the King of Poland, and twenty thousand to the Elector of Bavaria. These gratifications met with little or no opposition in the committee of supply; because it was taken for granted, that, in case of a rupture, France would endeavour to avail herself of her superiority by land, by invading his Britannick Majesty's German dominions; and therefore it might be necessary to secure the assistance of such allies on the continent. That they prognosticated aright, with respect to the designs of that ambitious power, will soon appear in the course of this history; which will also demonstrate how little dependance is to be placed upon the professed attachment of subsidiary Princes. The supplies were raised by the standing branches of the revenue, the land-tax and malt-tax, and a lottery for

for one million; one hundred thousand pounds of it to be deducted for the service of the publick, and the remaining nine hundred thousand to be charged on the produce of the sinking-fund, at the rate of three per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six. The civil transactions of this session were confined to a few objects. Divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fishery, as well as for finishing and putting in a proper state of defence a new fort, lately built at Anamaboe on the coast of Africa. CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XLIII. Mr. Pitt, the Paymaster-General of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a standing monument of his humanity. The poor disabled veterans who enjoyed the pension of Chelsea hospital, were so iniquitously oppressed by a set of miscreants, who supplied them with money per advance, at the most exorbitant rates of usury, that many of them with their families, were in danger of starving; and the intention of government in granting such a comfortable subsistence was in a great measure defeated. Mr. Pitt, perceiving that this evil originally flowed from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put upon the list, removed this necessity of borrowing, by providing in the bill, that half a year's pension should be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of usury was effectually prevented by a clause, enacting that all contracts should be void by which any pension might be mortgaged. This humane regulation was unanimously approved, and having passed through both Houses with uncommon expedition, received the Royal assent.

§ XLIV. Notwithstanding the unanimity manifested by the Commons, in every thing relating to the measures for acting vigorously against the com-

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1754. mon enemy of the nation, they were remarkably disturbed and divided by a contested election of members for Oxfordshire. In the course of this dispute, the strength and influence of what they called the old and new interest, or to speak more intelligibly, of the Tories and Whigs in that county, were fully displayed. The candidates sustained on the shoulders of the old interest, were Lord Viscount Wenman and Sir James Dashwood: their competitors, whom the new interest supported, and of consequence the ministry countenanced, were Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of this kind maintained with more spirit and animosity, or carried on at a greater expence. One would have imagined that each side considered it as a dispute which must have determined, whether the nation should enjoy its ancient liberty, or tamely submit to the fetters of corruption. Noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and ladies, employed all their talents and industry in canvassing for either side, throughout every township and village in the county. Scandal emptied her whole quiver of insinuation, calumny, and lampoon; corruption was not remiss in promises and presents: houses of entertainment were opened: and nothing was for some time to be seen but scenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication. The revenue of many an independent Prince on the continent would not have been sufficient to afford such sums of money as were expended in the course of this dispute. At length they proceeded to election, and the sheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, so that not one of them could sit, and the county remained without a representative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the House of Commons. About the middle of November petitions being presented by the four candidates, as well as by the gentlemen, clergy, and other freeholders of the county, complaining of an undue election, and

double return, the matter of these petitions was heard at the bar of the House on the third day of December. The counsel for Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood alleged, that they had the majority of votes upon the poll, and this circumstance was admitted by the counsel on the other side; then they proceeded to prove by evidence, that, after closing the poll, the sheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favour of these two candidates, and adjourned the court from the twenty-third day of April to the eighth of May; so that the scrutiny demanded, and granted on the behalf of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner could not be discussed before the last day in the month, when the writ was returnable; that the scrutiny did not begin till the ninth day of May, when the time was protracted by disputes about the manner in which it should be carried on; that Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the votes on the other side, on pretence that their competitors should be permitted to answer these objections, and, in their turn, object through the whole poll to the votes for Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, who should, in the last place, have leave to answer: that Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had disapproved of this method, because, they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make such a number of frivolous objections, that they should not have time to answer one half of them, much less to make objections of their own, before the writ should be returned: that they foresaw such a number of frivolous objections were made, as engrossed the attention of the court till the twenty-seventh day of May; so that they could not begin to answer any of these objections till the twenty-eighth; and on the thirtieth the sheriff, having closed the scrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exhibited, the counsel insisted, that, as they had established a majority

BOOK III.

1754.

majority on the poll, and demonstrated that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by such an unfinished scrutiny, it was incumbent on the other side to proceed upon the merits of the election, by endeavouring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in possession. A question in the House being carried to the same purpose, Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood objected to five hundred and thirty voters on the other side, whom they proposed to disqualify. Their counsel examined several witnesses, to prove the partiality of the sheriff in favour of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, and to detect these candidates, in the practice of bribery; for which purpose they produced a letter in their own hand writing. They afterwards proceeded to disqualify particular voters, and summed

An. 1755. up their evidence on the twenty-first day of January. Then the counsel for the other side began to refute the charge of partiality and corruption; and to answer the objections that had been made to particular voters. They produced evidence to prove, that customary freeholders, or customary holdings, had voted at elections in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Gloucester, Wells, and Hereford; and that the customary tenants of the manor of Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county. In a word, they continued to examine evidences argue and refute, prove and disprove, until the twenty-third day of April, when after some warm debates and divisions in the House, Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were declared duly elected: and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by erasing the names of Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood. Many, who presumed to think for themselves, without recollecting the power and influence of the administration, were astonished at the issue of this dispute; which, however, might have easily been foreseen; inasmuch

as, during the course of the proceedings most, if not all, of the many questions debated in the House were determined by a great majority in favour of the new interest. A great number of copy-holders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the sheriff incurred no censure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by free-holders: nevertheless, the Commons carefully avoided determining the question, Whether copy-holders possessed of the yearly value of forty shillings, clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to represent the shire within which their copy-hold estates are situated? This point being left doubful by the legislature, puts it often in the power of the sheriff to return which of the candidates he pleases to support; for if the majority of the voting copy-holders adheres to the interest of his favorites, he will admit their votes both on the poll and the scrutiny; whereas, should they be otherwise disposed, he will reject them as unqualified. What effect this practice may have upon the independency of Parliament, every person must perceive who reflects, that in almost all the counties of England the High Sheriffs are annually appointed by the minister for the time being.

§ XLV. The attention of the legislature was chiefly turned upon the conduct of France, which preserved no medium, but seemed intent upon striking some important blow, that might serve as a declaration of war. At Brest, and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in equipping a powerful armament, and made no scruple to own it was intended for North-America. Towards the latter end of March Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, brought a message from the King to the Parliament, intimating, that his Majesty having at the beginning of the session declared his principal object was to preserve the publick tranquillity, at the same time to protect those possessions which

BOOK III.

1755. which constitute one great source of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms, he now found it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatsoever that might be made to support or countenance any designs which should be formed against his Majesty and his kingdoms; and his Majesty doubted not but his faithful Commons, on whose affection and zeal he entirely relied, would enable him to make such augmentations, and to take such measures for supporting the honour of his crown, and the true interest of his people, and for the security of his dominions in the present critical conjuncture, as the exigency of affairs might require; in doing which his Majesty would have as much regard to the ease of his good subjects as should be consistent with their safety and welfare. In answer to this message a very warm and affectionate address was presented to his Majesty; and it was on this occasion that the million was granted for augmenting his forces by sea and land*. The Court of Versailles, notwithstanding the assiduity and dispatch which they were exerting in equipping armaments, and embarknig troops, for the support of their ambitious schemes in America,

* The ministry having resolved to send a body of forces to America, to act in conjunction with the provincial troops raised on that continent, it became necessary that the mutiny act should be rendered more clear and extensive. When this bill, therefore, fell under consideration, it was improved with a new clause, providing, "That all "officers and soldiers of any troops being mustered and in pay, which "are or shall be raised in any of the British provinces in America, by "authority of the respective governors or governments thereof, shall, "at all times, and in all places, when they happen to join or act in "conjunction with his Majesty's British forces, be liable to martial "law and discipline, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, "as the British forces are; and shall be subject to the same trial, "penalties, and punishment."

still

still continue to amuse the British ministry with general declarations, that no hostility was intended, nor the least infringement of the treaty. CHAP. III. 1755.

§ XLVI. The Earl of Albermarle, the English Ambassador at Paris, having lately died in that city, these assurances were communicated to the court of London by the Marquis de Mirepoix, who resided in England with the same character, which he had supported since his first arrival with equal honour and politeness. On this occasion he himself was so far imposed upon by the instructions he had received, that he believed the professions of his court were sincere, and seriously endeavoured to prevent a rupture between the two nations. At length, however, their preparations were so notorious that he began to suspect the consequence; and the English ministry produced such proofs of their insincerity and double dealing, that he seemed to be struck with astonishment and chagrin. He repaired to France, and upbraided the ministry of Versailles for having made him the tool of their dissimulation. They referred him to the King, who ordered him to return to London, with fresh assurances of his pacifick intentions: but his practice agreed so ill with his professions, that the Ambassador had scarce obtained an audience to communicate them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to sail from Brest and Rochefort. The government of Great-Britain, roused by this information, immediately took the most expeditious methods for equipping a squadron; and towards the latter end of April, Admiral Boscawen sailed with eleven ships of the line and one frigate, having on board a considerable number of land-forces, to attend the motions of the enemy: but more certain and particular intelligence arrived soon after, touching the strength of the French fleet, which consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a great quantity of warlike stores,

BOOK III. 1755.

and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau, Admiral Holbourne was detached with six ships of the line, and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boscawen; and a great number of capital ships were put in commission. In the beginning of May the French fleet commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, directing his course to North-America: but, after having proceeded beyond the chops of the English Channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest of the armament continued their course, under the direction of M. Bois de la Mothe.

§ XLVII. On the twenty-fifth day of April the King went to the House of Lords, where, after giving the Royal assent to the bills then depending; for granting a certain sum out of the sinking-fund, for the relief of insolvent debtors, for the better regulation of marine forces on shore, for the better raising of marines and seamen, and to several other publick and private bills: his Majesty put an end to the session of Parliament by a speech, in which he acquainted the two Houses, That the zeal they had shown for supporting the honour, rights, and possessions of his crown, had afforded him the greatest satisfaction: That his desire to preserve the publick tranquillity had been sincere and uniform: That he had religiously adhered to the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatsoever; but that he never could entertain a thought of purchasing the name of peace at the expence of suffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what justly belonged to Great-Britain, either by ancient possession or by solemn treaties: That, the vigour and firmness of his Parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such contingencies as might happen: That, if reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation could

could be agreed upon, he would be satisfied, and, at all events, rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence. The Parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-seventh of May.

CHAP. III. 1755.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. *Preparations for war.* § II. *Earl Paulet's motion against the King's going to Hanover.* § III. *Regency appointed during his Majesty's absence.* § IV. *Boscawen's expedition. Alcide and Lys taken.* § V. *French Ambassador recalled.* § VI. *Their trade greatly distressed.* § VII. *Affairs of the English in America. Col. Monckton takes Beausejour.* § VIII. *General Braddock's unfortunate expedition.* § IX. *He falls into an ambuscade; is defeated, and killed.* § X. *Disagreement between the Governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania.* § XI. *Expedition against Crown-Point and Niagara resolved on.* § XII. *Gen. Johnson encamps at Lake George.* § XIII. *Where he is attacked by the French, who are entirely defeated.* § XIV. *Bravery of Captain M'Ginnes.* § XV. *Gen. Johnson created a Baronet.* § XVI. *Description of Fort Oswego and Lake Ontario.* § XVII. *Neglect of the English in not fortifying it.* § XVIII. *Expedition against Niagara.* § XIX. *Gen. Shirley returns to Albany. End of the campaign in America.* § XX. *Fruitless intrigues of the French in Spain and Germany.* § XXI. *Treaty of the King of Great-Britain with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.* § XXII. *News of the capture of the Alcide and Lys reaches England.* § XXIII. *The King returns from Hanover, and concludes a treaty with Russia.* § XXIV. *Declaration of the French ministry at the Court of Vienna.* § XXV. *Spirited declaration of the King of Prussia.* § XXVI. *The French make another unsuccessful attempt upon the Court of Spain.* § XXVII. *The Imperial Court refuses auxiliaries to England.* § XXVIII. *The French take the Blandford man of war, but return it.* § XXIX. *State of the English and French navies.* § XXX. *Session opened.* § XXXI. *Remarkable addresses of the Lords and Commons.* § XXXII. *His*

His Majesty's answer. § XXXIII. *Alterations in the ministry. Mr. Fox made Secretary of State.* § XXXIV. *Supplies voted.* § XXXV. *Earthquake at Lisbon.* § XXXVI. *Relief voted by Parliament to the Portuguese.* § XXXVII. *Troops, &c. voted.* § XXXVIII. *Mutiny bill, marine, and mariners acts continued.* § XXXIX. *Act for raising a regiment of foot in North-America.* § XL. *Maritime laws of England extended to America.* § XLI. *Quiet of Ireland restored.* § XLII. *Treaty concluded with Prussia.* § XLIII. *New militia bill passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords.* § XLIV. *Session closed.*

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ I. WHILST all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success. Still the French Court flattered itself that Great-Britain, out of tenderness to his Majesty's German dominions, would abstain from hostilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the British ministry, who made no secret that their Admirals, particularly Boscawen, had orders to attack the French ships wherever they should meet them; on the other hand, Mons. de Mirepoix declared, that his master would consider the first gun fired at sea in an hostile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the English, animated them to redouble their preparations for war. The press for seamen was carried on with extraordinary vigour in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given not only by the government, but also, over and above his Majesty's bounty, by almost all the considerable cities and towns in England, to such as should inlist voluntarily for sailors or soldiers. Other branches of the publick service went on with equal alacrity: and such was the eagerness of the people

BOOK III. 1755.

people to lend their money to the government, that instead of one million, which was to be raised by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds were subscribed immediately.

§ II. The situation of affairs requiring his Majesty to go to Germany this summer, great apprehensions arose in the minds of many, lest the French should either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return. Earl Paulet had made a motion in the House of Lords, humbly to represent to his Majesty, "That it was an article in the original act of settlement by which the succession of these kingdoms devolved to his electoral house, that the King should not go to his foreign dominions without the consent of Parliament; and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: That though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always been the custom for his Majesty to acquaint the Parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true sense and spirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindness of his royal heart, and the condescension he had been so good to show to his Parliament on all occasions; but that his Majesty's declaration of his design to visit his electoral estates had always come on the last day of a session, when it was too late for the great constitutional council of the crown to offer such advice as might otherwise have been expedient and necessary: That his Majesty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger, would not only give the greatest advantage to such as might be disposed to stir up disaffection and discontent, and to the constitutional and national enemies of England; but would also fill his royal subjects with the most affecting concern, and most gloomy fears, as well for their own safety, as for that

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of their Sovereign, whose invaluable life, at all times of the utmost consequence to his people, was then infinitely so, by reason of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal person, and the minority of the heir apparent." Such was the purport of this motion; but it was not seconded by any of the other lords.

§ III. The general uneasiness, on account of his Majesty's departure, was greatly increased by an apprehension that there would, during his absence, be no good agreement amongst the Regency, which consisted of the following persons: his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland; Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; Philip Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor; John Earl of Granville, President of the Council; Charles Duke of Marlborough, Lord Privy-seal; John Duke of Rutland, Steward of the Household; Charles Duke of Grafton, Lord-Chamberlain; Archibald Duke of Argyle; the Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; The Duke of Dorset, Master of the Horse; the Earl of Holdernesse, one of the Secretaries of State; the Earl of Rochford, Groom of the Stole; the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Anson, First Commissioner of the Admiralty; Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State; and Henry Fox, Esq. Secretary at War. His Majesty set out from St. James's on the twenty-eight of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetsluys, and arrived at Hanover on the second of May.

§ IV. Admiral Boscawen with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland, and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the same station, under the command of E. Bois de la Mothe. But the

BOOK III. 1755.

the thick fogs which prevail upon these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river, through the Straits of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line. However, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys pierced for fifty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land-forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, Captain Howe, and the Defiance, Captain Andrews, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron; and after a smart engagement which lasted some hours, and in which Captain (afterwards Lord) Howe behaved with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money. Though the capture of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the publick credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no further measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force, and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for some time, did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their encroachments

croachments on our settlements till they had exe- CHAP. cuted their grand plan of securing a communication IV. from the Mississippi to Canada, by a line of forts, 1756. many of which they had already erected.

§ V. Upon the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French Ambassador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend the King of England in a publick character. They complained loudly of Boscawen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith: but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary. The resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council. The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great-Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those Admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last war. Accordingly on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last month another fleet consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, sailed again on a cruise to the westward, under Admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America. But this fleet likewise returned to Spithead on the twenty-second of November, without having been able to effect

BOOK III. effect any thing, though it was allowed by all, that the Admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

1755.

§ VI. While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his Majesty's docks: twelve frigates or sloops, contracted for in private yards were completed by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be fitted out as vessels of war, to carry twenty guns, and one hundred and twenty men each. In the mean time the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruizers, that before the end of this year three hundred of their merchant ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich, and eight thousand of their sailors were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and with-held from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people and ruined many of their traders. Their outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burthen was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publickly reviled, even by their Parliaments: and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe. Their uneasiness was also not a little heightened by new broils between their King and the Parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular tribunals, and as much as possible, to enforce the observance of the bull Unigenitus, which had long been

been the occasion of so many disputes among them. However, the Parliament continuing firm, and the French King approving of its conduct, the ecclesiasticks thought proper to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of war. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ VII. In the beginning of this year the assembly of Massachussett's Bay in New-England passed an act, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops, which was transported to Nova-Scotia, to assist Lieutenant-Governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made upon that province. Accordingly, towards the end of May, the Governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, upon this service; and three frigates and a sloop were dispatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of Captain Rous, to give their assistance by sea. The troops, upon their arrival at the river Massaguash, found the passage stopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, four hundred and fifty of whom occupied a block-house, with cannon mounted on their side of the river; and the rest were posted within a strong breast-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-house. The English provincials attacked this place with such spirit, that the enemy was obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of the breast-work; then the garrison in the block-house deserted it, and left the passage of the river free. From thence Colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beausejour, which he invested, as far at least as the small number of his troops would permit, on the twelfth of June; and after four days bombardment obliged it to surrender, though the French had twenty-six

BOOK III. 1755.

pieces of cannon mounted and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon upon their batteries. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their having been forced into that service. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort upon the river Gaspereau which runs into Bay Verte; where he likewise found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries. He then disarmed these last, to the number of fifteen thousand; and in the mean time, Captain Rous with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it upon his appearance, after having burst their cannon, blown up their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised. The English had but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the success of which secured the tranquillity of Nova-Scotia.

§ VIII. While the New-Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova-Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the Ohio. A fort was built, which was likewise called Fort-Cumberland, and a camp formed at Wills's-Creek. On the fourteenth of January of this year, Major-General Braddock, with Colonel Dunbar's and Colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from Cork, in Ireland, for Virginia, where they all landed safe before the end of February. This General might consequently have entered upon action early

early in the spring had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who when he was ready to march, had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for his troops nor a competent number of carriages for his army. This accident was foreseen by almost every person who knew any thing of our plantations upon the continent of America; for the people of Virginia who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough even for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel carriages, or beasts of burthen; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn, and most other sorts of provisions, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great number of carts, waggons, and horses. Mr. Braddock should, therefore, certainly in point of prudence have landed in Pennsylvania: the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the chief planters there, who could easily have performed their engagements: and if his camp had been formed near Frank's town, or somewhere upon the south-west borders of that province, he would not have had eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Du Quesne, instead of an hundred and thirty miles that he had to advance from Wills's-Creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of supplying these troops, or to any other cause, delayed the march of the army for some weeks, during which it was in the utmost distress for necessaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition entirely for that summer, had not the contractors found means to procure some assistance from the back settlements

CHAP. IV. 1755.

of

BOOK III. 1755.

of Pennsylvania. But even when these supplies did arrive, they consisted of only fifteen waggons, and an hundred draft horses, instead of an hundred and fifty waggons and three hundred horses, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furnish, and the provisions were so bad that they could not be used. However, some gentlemen in Pennsylvania, being applied to in this exigency, amply made up for these deficiencies, and the troops were by this means supplied with every thing they wanted. Another, and still more fatal error was committed in the choice of the Commander for this expedition. Major-General Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the English guards: but he was naturally very haughty, positive, and difficult of access; qualities ill suited to the temper of the people amongst whom he was to command. His extreme severity in matters of discipline had rendered him unpopular among the soldiers; and the strict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on scrupulously following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, because they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park, little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses. Before he left England, he received in the handwriting of Colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the Duke of Cumberland. By these the attempt upon Niagara was, in a great measure, referred to him, and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces. But above all, his Royal Highness, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambush or surprize. Instead of regarding this salutary

salutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his safest guards against this danger in particular, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his behaviour, that most of them forsook his banners. Under these disadvantages he began his march from Fort-Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about two thousand two hundred men, for the Meadows, where Colonel Washington was defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Quesne, which had lately been built on the same river, near its confluence with the Monangahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops: therefore, that he might march with a greater dispatch, he left Colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit; and with the other twelve hundred, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the necessary ammunition, and provisions, he marched on with so much expedition, that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to pass through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the farther he was removed from danger.

§ IX. On the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne. Though Colonel Dunbar was then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir Peter Halket, earnestly entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him, by way of advanced guard, in case of ambuscades; yet he resumed his march the next day, without so much as endeavouring to obtain any intelligence of the situation or disposition of the enemy, or even sending out any scouts to visit the woods and thickets on both sides of him, as well as in front. With this carelessness he was advancing, when, about noon, he

was

BOOK III. 1755.

was saluted with a general fire upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be seen. The vanguard immediately fell back upon the main body, and in an instant the panick and confusion became general; so that most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all that their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, instead of scouring the thickets and bushes from whence the fire came, with grape shot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance against the enemy, he obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who staid with him, to form regularly, and advance. Meanwhile his men fell thick about him, and almost all his officers were singled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, distinguished them by their dress. At last, the General, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, and another of his officers. When he dropped, the confusion of the few that remained turned into a downright and very disorderly flight across a river which they had just passed, though no enemy appeared, or attempted to attack them. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, and, among the rest, the General's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, which the French Court afterwards made great use of in their printed memorials or manifestoes. The loss of the English in this unhappy affair amounted to seven hundred men. Their officers, in particular, suffered much more

than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe, Sir Peter Halket fell by the very first fire, at the head of his regiment; and the General's Secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loss which they sustained, could be so much as guessed at: but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed four hundred men, mostly Indians; and that their loss was quite inconsiderable, as it probably was, because they lay concealed in such a manner that the English knew not whither to point their muskets. The panick of these last continued so long, that they never stopped till they met the rear division; and even then they infected those troops with their terrors; so that the army retreated without stopping, till they reached Fort-Cumberland, though the enemy did not so much as attempt to pursue, nor even appeared in sight, either in the battle, or after the defeat. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ X. Had the shattered remains of this army continued at Fort-Cumberland, and fortified themselves there, as they might easily have done, during the rest of the summer, they would have been such a check upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those ravages that were committed in the ensuing winter upon the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but, instead of taking that prudent step, their Commander left only the sick and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two companies of the provincial militia, posted there by way of garrison, and began his march on the second of August, with about sixteen hundred men, from Philadelphia; where those troops could be of no immediate service. From thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New-

BOOK III. 1755.

York, by General Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of Major-General Braddock. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were by these means left entirely to take care of themselves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their councils: but the usual disputes, between their Governors and Assemblies, defeated every salutary plan that was proposed. Pennsylvania, the most powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence, or that of its neighbours, by these unhappy contests; though, at last, the Assembly of that province, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, and seeing the absolute necessity of providing a standing military force, and of erecting some forts to defend their western frontier, passed a bill for raising fifty thousand pounds. But even this sum, small as it was, even to a degree of ridicule, considering the richness of the province, and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained; the Governor positively refusing to give his assent to the act of the Assembly, because they had taxed the proprietaries estates equally with those of the inhabitants, which, he said, he was ordered by his instructions, not to consent to, nor indeed any new tax upon the proprietaries; and the Assembly, consisting chiefly of members whose estates lay in the eastern or interior parts of the province, as positively refusing to alter their bill. One would be apt to think, that, in a case of such urgent necessity, the Governor might have ventured to give his assent to the bill under a protest, that it should not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries upon any future occasion: but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceless: by which means it afterwards suffered severely, to the destruction of many of the poor inhabitants upon the western frontier, and to the impressing the Indians with a contemptible opinion

nion of the English, and the highest esteem of the French. CHAP. IV.

§ XI. Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war. New-York, following the example of New-England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any French port or settlement on the continent of North-America, or any of the adjacent islands; and also for raising forty-five thousand pounds, on estates real and personal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more exposed than any other to a French invasion from Crown-Point. However, this sum, great as it might seem to them, was far from being sufficient; nor, indeed, could they have provided properly for their security, without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them; but with their help, and the additional succour of the small body of regular troops expected under Colonel Dunbar, they boldly resolved upon offensive measures, which, when practicable, are always the saftest; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other against their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were set on foot at the same time. The former of these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of General Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohock river, in the western parts of New-York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the inhabitants but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had learnt, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by General Shirley himself. 1755.

§ XII. The rendezvous of the troops for both these expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June: but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt upon Crown-Point, could

BOOK III. 1755.

not be prepared till the eighth of August, when General Johnson set out with them from Albany for the Carrying-place from Hudson's river to Lake-George. There the troops had already arrived, under the command of Major-General Lyman, and consisted of between five and six thousand men, besides Indians, raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and New-York. Every thing was then prepared as fast as possible for a march; and towards the end of the month, General Johnson advanced about fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very strong situation, covered on each side by a thick wooded swamp, by Lake-George in his rear, and by a breast-work of trees, cut down for that purpose, in his front. Here he resolved to wait the arrival of his batteaux, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was about fifteen miles to the fort at the south end of Lake-Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort-Frederick by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilst he was thus encamped, some of his Indian scouts, of which he took care to send out numbers along both sides, and to the farther end of Lake-George, brought him intelligence that a considerable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the south bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort-Edward, which General Lyman had built at the Carrying-place; and in which four or five hundred of the New-Hampshire and New-York men had been left as a garrison. Upon this information General Johnson sent two expresses, one after the other, to Colonel Blanchard, their Commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, those who had been sent upon the second express returned with an account of their having seen the enemy within four miles of the camp at

at the Carrying-place, which they scarcely doubted their having by that time attacked. Important as the defence of this place was for the safety of the whole army, and imminent as the danger seemed to be, it does not appear that the General then called any council of war, or resolved upon any thing for its relief; but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved to detach a thousand men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the General's expression was in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their design. This expedient was resolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that respect from the Indian scouts, because the Indians have no words or signs for expressing any large number, which, when it exceeds their reckoning, they signify by pointing to the stars in the firmament, or to the hair of their head; and this they often do to denote a number less than a thousand, as well as to signify ten thousand, or any greater number.

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XIII. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning a thousand men, with two hundred Indians, were detached under the command of Colonel Williams: but they had not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing, at about three or four miles distance as they judged: as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp; which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion. In a very short time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the consternation was so great, that, if they had attacked the breast work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory; but, fortunately for the English, they halted

for

BOOK III.

1755.

for some time about an hundred and fifty yards distance, and from thence began their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of these last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack upon the centre with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavoured to force a passage, but was repulsed, being unsupported by the irregulars. Instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush-firing till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by General Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing and taking a considerable number of them, entirely dispersed the rest. The French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about two thousand men, including two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had between seven and eight hundred men killed, and thirty taken prisoners: among the latter was Baron Dieskau himself, whom

whom they found at a little distance from the field of battle, dangerously wounded, and leaning on the stump of a tree for his support. The English lost about two hundred men, and those chiefly of the detachment under Colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack upon their camp, and not any of distinction, except Colonel Titcomb killed, and the General himself and Major Nichols wounded. Among the slain of the detachment, which would probably have been entirely cut off had not Lieutenant-Colonel Cole been sent out from the Camp with three hundred men, with which he stopped the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were Colonel Williams, Major Ashley, six Captains, and several subalterns, besides private men: and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, or chief Captain.

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XIV. When Baron Diescau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprize and cut off the entrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the Carrying-place, where there were but four or five hundred men. If he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have subsisted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attack it with great advantage in its retreat. But when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp; upon which they all desired to be led on to this last, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by an English prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon; which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breast-work erected, till about two days before the engagement. To this misinformation, therefore,

BOOK III. 1755.

fore, must be imputed this step, which would otherwise be inconsistent with the general character and abilities of Baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by General Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were defeated and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from so doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in the morning under Colonel Williams. However that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of an hundred and twenty men of the New-Hampshire regiment under Captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between three and four hundred men of Dieskau's troops, near the spot where Colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes having timely notice by his scouts of the approach of an enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and entirely dispersed them, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing. He himself unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

§ XV. It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point, as it would have been necessary, in that case, to build a strong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or supplied with fresh stores of ammunition or provisions. They, therefore, set out upon their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a future prey for the enemy: a misfortune which might easily have been foreseen, because this whole army, being country militia, was to be disbanded, and return

return to their respective homes, as they actually did soon after their retreat to Albany. This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by such an expensive expedition. But so little had the English been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence. The General was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his Majesty, and presented with five thousand pounds by the Parliament.

§ XVI. The preparations for General Shirley's expedition against Niagara were not only deficient, but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of our fort at Oswego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Oswego lies on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, near three hundred miles almost due-west from Albany in New-York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greatest part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants called batteaux, which are a kind of light, flat-bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about fifteen hundred weight burden, and managed by two men, called batteaux men, with paddles and setting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Shenectady, about sixteen miles, is a good waggon-road. From thence to the little Falls in the Mohock-river, being sixty-five miles, the passage is by water-carriage up that river, and consequently against the stream, which in many places is somewhat rapid, and in others so shallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their batteaux over the rifts. At the little

BOOK III. 1755.

Falls is a postage, or land carriage, for about a mile, over a ground so marshy, that it will not bear any wheel carriage: but a colony of Germans settled there attend with sledges, on which they draw the loaded batteaux to the next place of embarkation upon the same river. From thence they proceed by water up that river, for fifty miles, to the Carrying-place, near the head of it, where there is another postage, the length of which depends upon the dryness or wetness of the season, but is generally above six or eight miles over in the summer months. Here the batteaux are again carried upon sledges, till they come to a narrow river called Wood's Creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather. At the western end of the lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca, and their united streams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego fort is situated. But this river is so rapid as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks: and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is consequently a postage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards. From thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego. The lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the north side of it are several little gulfs. There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanasuate, from whence it is a land carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake: Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake communicates

municates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie. But of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XVII. Though we had long been in possession of fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, upon any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defensible, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake: nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of, till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which General Braddock had in April with the Governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the forts and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place. Accordingly a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June. At the same time Captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies of an hundred men each, to reinforce the hundred that were there before under Captain King, to which number the garrison had been increased since our contests with France began to grow serious. For a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend this post, which from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, most certainly required a much stronger garrison than was put into it even at this period: but œconomy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that in a great measure was owing its long duration.

§ XVIII. From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring. But instead of that, the very first of them, Colonel Schuyler's New-Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July, and just as Shirley's

BOOK III. 1755.

Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's disaster arrived at Albany, where it so damped the spirits of the people, and spread such a terror, that many of the troops deserted, and most of the batteau men dispersed, and ran home, by which means even all the necessary stores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithstanding this disappointment, General Shirley set out from Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the Six Nations, to whom he sent invitations to that effect as he passed by their settlements: but they, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country; and insisted that Oswego, being a place of traffick and peace, ought not to be disturbed either by the English or the French, as if they could have persuaded both parties to agree to such a local truce. Upon this refusal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oswego on the seventeenth or eighteenth of August; but the rest of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the last day of that month; and even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara, though some tolerable good vessels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpose. The General now resolved to take but six hundred men with him for the attack of Niagara, and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of about fourteen hundred more, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack it in his absence, which there was reason to apprehend they might, as they then had a considerable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they could easily cross over the lake Ontario to Oswego. However, he was still obliged to wait at Oswego for provisions, of which at length a small supply arrived on the twenty-

sixth

sixth of September, barely sufficient to support his men during their intended expedition, and to allow twelve days short subsistence for those he left behind. But by this time the rainy boisterous season had begun, on which account most of his Indians had already left him, and were returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that there was no crossing the lake Ontario in batteaux at that season, or any time before the next summer. In this perplexity he called a council of war, which, after weighing all circumstances, unanimously resolved to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the next year, and to employ the troops, whilst they remained at Oswego, in building barracks, and erecting, or at least beginning to erect two new forts, one on the east side of the river Onondaga, four hundred and fifty yards distant from the old fort, which it was to command, as well as the entrance of the harbour, and to be called Ontario-fort; and the other four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort, to be called Oswego new fort. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XIX. These things being agreed on, General Shirley, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, set out on his return to Albany on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving Colonel Mercer with a garrison of about seven hundred men at Oswego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at least a thousand men at their fort of Frontenac, upon the same lake; and, what was still worse, the new forts were not yet near completed; but left to be finished by the hard labour of Colonel Mercer and his little garrison, with the addition of this melancholy circumstance, that, if besieged by the enemy in the winter, it would not be possible for his friends to come to his assistance. Thus ended this year's unfortunate campaign, during which the French, with the assistance of their Indian allies, continued their murders, scalping, captivating, and laying waste the

BOOK III. the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, during the whole winter.

1755. § XX. The ministers of the two jarring powers were very busily employed this year at most of the Courts of Europe; but their transactions were kept extremely secret. The French endeavoured to inspire the Spaniards with a jealousy of the strength of the English by sea, especially in America; and the Spanish Court seemed inclined to accept of the office of mediator: but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of affairs between England and France, seconded the representations of the British ministry, which demonstrated, that, however willing Great-Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, she could not agree to any suspension of arms in America, which France insisted on as a preliminary condition, without hazarding the whole of her interest there; and that the captures which had been made by the English were the necessary consequences of the encroachments and injustice of the French, particularly in that country. Upon this remonstrance, all further talk of the mediation of Spain was dropped, and the ministry of Versailles had recourse to the Princes of Germany; amongst whom the Elector of Cologn was soon brought over to their party, so as to consent to their forming magazines in his territories in Westphalia. This was a plain indication of their design against Hanover, which they soon after made his Britannick Majesty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of sparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with disdain. Then the Count D'Aubeterre, Envoy Extraordinary from France at the Court of Vienna, proposed a secret negociation with the ministers of the Empress-Queen. The secret articles of the treaty of Petersburgh, between the two Empresses, had stipulated a kind of partition of the Prussian territories, in case that Prince should infringe the

treaty of Dresden; but his Britannick Majesty, CHAP. though often invited, had always refused to agree to any such stipulation: and the King of Poland, howsoever he might be inclined to favour the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally, till matters should be more ripe for carrying it into execution. The Court of Vienna, whose favourite measure this was, began to listen to D'Aubeterre's insinuations, and by degrees entered into negociations with him, which, in the end, were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the Empress-Queen and the King of France, of which further notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the Empress of Russia, was concluded at Versailles. IV. 1755.

§ XXI. The King of England taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great-Britain, which seemed to be near at hand, began to take measures for the defence of that electorate. To this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his Serene Highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, for his Majesty's service, a body of eight thousand men to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Britain or Ireland; but not on board the fleet or beyond the seas; and also, if his Britannick Majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of eight thousand men, within six months after they should be demanded, for thousand more, of which seven hundred were to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon.* Another treaty was begun with Russia

* The King, on his side, promised to pay to the Landgrave for these succours, eight crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and thirty crowns

BOOK III. 1755.

Russia about the same time; but this did not take effect during his Majesty's residence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more surprising, as our subsidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring, and as the securing of these two Princes in our interest was at least as necessary towards forming a sufficient confederacy upon the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to secure the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. If the reason of their not being engaged, and no other seems so probable, was, that they refused to renew their treaties with England upon any terms, all that can be said is that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude, as they had both received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great-Britain.

§ XXII. On the fifteenth of July an express arrived from Admiral Boscawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ships of war the Alcide and the Lys. This was certainly contrary to the expectation of the Court of France; for had they apprehended any such attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M'Namara to return to Brest with the chief part of their squadron; nor was it, perhaps,

crowns banco for every foot soldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty three sols of Holland, or at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money; and also to pay to his Serene Highness, for the eight thousand men, an annual subsidy of an hundred and fifty thousand crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of signing the treaty; which subsidy was to be increased to three hundred thousand crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops, to the time of their entering into British pay; and in case of their being dismissed, the said subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns was then to revive and be continued during the residue of the term: but, if twelve thousand men were demanded and furnished, the subsidy was then to be increased in proportion; and in case the King of Great-Britain should at any time think fit to send back these troops, before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his Serene Highness three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return, and they were to be furnished gratis with the necessary transport vessels.

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less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry: but as matters had been carried so far, it was then too late to retreat; and, therefore, orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals upon the French, by taking their ships wherever they should meet them. Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which, however, escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third day of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West-Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade and sugar-islands from any insult that the French might offer: and the Duke de Mirepoix, their Ambassador at the Court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July, without taking leave.

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XXIII. A war being thus in some measure begun, his Majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Kensington, where the treaty of alliance between him the Empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month. By this treaty her Russian Majesty engaged to hold in readiness in Livonia, upon the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and fifteen thousand cavalry; and also on the coast of the same province, forty or fifty gallies, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, upon the first order, in his Majesty's service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannick Majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms: her

BOOK III. 1755.

Imperial Majesty declaring that she would look upon such an invasion as a case of the alliance of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and that the said dominions should be therein comprised in this respect; but neither these troops nor gallies were to be put in motion, unless his Britannick Majesty, or his allies, should be somewhere attacked; in which case the Russian General should march, as soon as possible after requisition, to make a diversion with thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry; and should embark on board the gallies the other ten thousand infantry to make a descent according to the exigency of the affair. On the other side, his Britannick Majesty engaged to pay to her Russian Majesty an annual subsidy of an hundred thousand pounds sterling a-year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, to the day that these troops should upon requisition march out of Russia; from which day the annual subsidy to her Imperial Majesty was to be five hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops should return into the Russian dominions, and for three months after their return. His Britannick Majesty, who was to be at liberty to send once every year into the said province of Livonia a commissary to see and examine the number and condition of the said troops, further engaged, that in case her Russian Majesty should be disturbed in this diversion, or attacked herself, he would furnish immediately the succour stipulated in the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and that in case a war should break out, he would send into the Baltick a squadron of his ships, of a force suitable to the circumstances. This was the chief substance of the treaty which, by agreement of both parties, was to subsist for four years from the exchange of the ratifications: but in the seventh article these

these words were unluckily inserted: "Considering also the proximity of the countries wherein the diversion in question will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of subsisting immediately in an enemy's country, she takes upon herself alone, during such a diversion, the subsistence and treatment of the said troops by sea and land." And in the eleventh article it was stipulated, that all the plunder the Russian army should take from the enemy should belong to them. That his Britannick Majesty, who now knew enough of the Court of Vienna to be sensible that he could expect no assistance from thence, in case his German dominions were invaded, should enter into this convention with the Empress of Russia, in order to strengthen his defence upon the continent, was extremely natural; especially as he had lately lived in great friendship with her, and her transactions with the Court of France had been so secret, by passing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them; neither had the project of the treaty of Versailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the King of Prussia, nor had either of these princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

§ XXIV. The first intimation that appeared publickly of the negociations of France with the Empress of Germany, was, when the French minister, Count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, "That the warlike designs with which the King his master was "charged, were sufficiently confuted by his great "moderation, of which all Europe had manifold "proofs: that his Majesty was persuaded this "groundless charge had given as much indignation "to their Imperial Majesties as to himself: that he "was firmly resolved to preserve to Christendom "that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good "faith, in religiously observing the treaty of Aix-"la-Chapelle: but that if his Britannick Majesty's

BOOK III. 1755.

"allies should take part in the war which was kindled "in America, by furnishing succours to the English, "his Majesty would be authorised to consider and "treat them as principals in it." France likewise made the same declaration to other Courts.

§ XXV. The words and stipulation in the above recited clause, in the seventh article of the treaty of Great-Britain with Russia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the King of Prussia, who, having some time found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and seeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his ministers at all the Courts of Europe, that he would oppose, with his utmost force, the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatever. This declaration was particularly displeasing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected several great magazines in Westphalia, with the permission of the Elector of Cologn, for which the English minister at his Court was, in August, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave. However, as soon as this declaration of the King of Prussia was notified to the Court of Versailles, they sent an Ambassador Extraordinary, the Duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to persuade his Majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them. His Prussian Majesty received this Ambassador in such a manner, as seemed to denote a disposition to agree to every thing he had to propose. This awakened in England a jealousy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was necessary to bring him under some solemn engagement; especially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the King of Prussia suffered them to pass through his dominions, that electorate must be swallowed up before the Russian auxiliaries could possibly be brought thither,

thither, or any army be formed for protecting it*. For this reason a negociation was set on foot by Great-Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it, till we come to that period. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XXVI. Meanwhile the French made another attempt upon the Court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boscawen's squadron, before any declaration of war was made, representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations. This produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that Court, importing, "That it was well known that the "French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and "every thing necessary for defending the countries "which the French had unjustly usurped in Ame-"rica, and of which the English claimed the pro-"perty; that the rules of self-defence authorise "every nation to render fruitless any attempt that "may tend to its prejudice: that this right had been "made use of only in taking the two French ships "of war; and that the distinction of place might "be interpreted in favour of the English, seeing "the two ships were taken on the coasts of the "countries where the contest arose." In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them in consequence of the general orders for making reprisals. But the Court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannick Majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of

* Perhaps the Elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Prussian Monarch than of the Most Christian King, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprising neighbour could, in a few days, subdue the whole electorate.

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BOOK III. 1755.

its intention to take no part in the differences between him and France, but such as should be conciliatory, and tending to restore the publick tranquillity.

§ XXVII. On the other hand, his Britannick Majesty required, as King of Great Britain, the auxiliaries stipulated to him by treaty from the Empress-Queen. But these were refused, under pretence, that as the contest between him and France related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; though at the same time the French made no scruple of owning, that they intended to make a powerful descent on Great-Britain early in the spring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the King of England required her to defend her own possessions, the Barrier in the Low Countries, with the number of men stipulated by treaty, which countries, acquired by English blood and English treasure, had been given to her on that express condition, she declared that she could not spare troops for that purpose, on account of her dangerous enemy the King of Prussia: and afterwards, when he was secured by his treaty with England, she urged that as a reason for her alliance with France. It must be owned, however, for the sake of historical truth, that this was no bad reason; considering the power, the genius, and the character of that Prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand veterans. It must likewise be owned, that she undertook to procure the French King's consent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually secured that electorate from the invasion of every other power but Prussia itself: and it is no strained conjecture to suppose, that the dread of this very power was the true source of those connections in Germany, which entailed such a ruinous continental war upon Great-Britain.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having on the thirteenth of August, taken the Blandford ship of war with Governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the Governor at liberty, as soon as the Court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great-Britain.

§ XXIX. In England the preparations by sea became greater than ever, several new ships of war were put in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government: the exportation of gunpowder was forbid: the bounties to seamen were continued, and the number of those that either entered voluntarily, or were pressed, increased daily, as did also the captures from the French, among which was the Esperance, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochefort to Brest to be manned. The land-forces of Great-Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised, and all half-pay officers, and the out-pensioners belonging to Chelsea-hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again if wanted. The English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of an hundred

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BOOK III. 1755.

and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-nine of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty, four sloops of war, of eighteen guns each, two of sixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten, besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe; whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then upon the stocks, amounted to no more than six ships of eighty guns, twenty-one of seventy-four, one of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of sixty-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

§ XXX. Such was the situation of the two kingdoms, when, on the thirteenth of November, the Parliament met, and his Majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted them—"That the most proper measures had been "taken to protect our possessions in America, and to "regain such parts thereof as had been encroached "upon, or invaded; that to preserve his people "from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent "a general war from being lighted up in Europe, "he had been always ready to accept reasonable "and honourable terms of accommodation, but that "none such had been proposed by France: that he "had also confined his views and operations to "hinder France from making new encroachments, "or supporting those already made; to exert his "people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of profound peace, and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think "had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions: that the King of Spain earnestly wished

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" the preservation of the publick tranquillity, and CHAP.
" had given assurances of his intention to continue IV.
" in the same pacifick sentiments: that he himself 1755.
" had greatly increased his naval armaments, and
" augmented his land-forces in such a manner as
" might be least burthensome; and, finally, that he
" had concluded a treaty with the Empress of Russia,
" and another with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel,
" which should be laid before them."

§ XXXI. In answer to this speech, both Houses voted most loyal addresses, but not without a warm opposition, in each, to some of the particular expressions; for it having been proposed in the House of Lords to insert in their address the words following, viz. " That they looked upon themselves
" as obliged, by the strongest ties of duty, grati-
" tude, and honour, to stand by and support his
" Majesty in all such wise and necessary measures
" and engagements as his Majesty might have taken
" in vindication of the rights of his Crown, or to
" defeat any attempts which might be made by
" France, in resentment for such measures, and to
" assist his Majesty in disappointing or repelling all
" such enterprises as might be formed, not only
" against his kingdoms, but also against any other
" of his dominions (though not belonging to the
" Crown of Great-Britain) in case they should be
" attacked on account of the part which his Ma-
" jesty had taken for maintaining the essential inte-
" rests of his kingdoms;" the inserting of these words in their address was opposed by Earl Temple, and several other lords; because, by the first part of them, they engaged to approve of the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, neither of which they had ever seen: nor could it be supposed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation; and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved, to engage this nation in a continental connection for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible

BOOK III. 1755.

impossible for England to support, and which would be so far from being of any advantage to it at sea; or in America, that it might at last disable the nation from defending itself in either of those parts of the world. But upon putting the question, the inserting of these words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they stand as part of the address of the House upon that occasion.

§ XXXII. To this remarkable address his Majesty returned the following as remarkable answer: "My Lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this "dutiful and affectionate address. I see, with the "greatest satisfaction, the zeal you express for my "person and government, and for the true interest "of your country, which I am determined to ad-"here to. The assurances which you give me for "the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong "proof of your affection for me, and regard for my "honour. Nothing shall divert me from pursuing "those measures which will effectually maintain the "possessions and rights of my kingdoms, and pro-"cure reasonable and honourable terms of accom-"modation."—The address of the House of Commons breathed the same spirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmest assurances of a ready support of his Majesty, and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in resentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his Majesty's answer to it was to the same effect as that to the House of Lords. The same, or nearly the same words, relating to the treaties concluded by his Majesty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed by William Pitt, Esq. then Paymaster of his Majesty's forces; the Right Hon. Henry Legge, Esq. then Chancellor and Undertreasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; and by several other gentlemen in high posts under the government, as well

well as by many others; but, upon putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very soon after, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and most, if not all, of the gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were dismissed from their employments. In the mean time, a draft came over from Russia for part of her new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who were then at the head of the finances, refused to pay it, at least before the treaty should be approved of by Parliament. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XXXIII. Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of Secretary of State, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest, well meaning man, and a favourite with the King, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post. Much less were they so at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connections, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures, and their superior influence in the House of Commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed, uncommon as it was, to see two persons who held considerable places under the government, one of them being Paymaster-General, and the other Secretary at War, oppose, upon almost every occasion, a Secretary of State who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his Master. Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his Majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas Master of the Wardrobe, with

BOOK III.

1755.

with a pension to him during his life, and after his death to his sons. Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as Secretary at War; and soon after Sir George Lyttelton was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system. However, notwithstanding these changes in the ministry, very warm debates arose in both Houses, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse-Cassel came to be considered by them: some of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was over-ruled, in consideration of his Majesty's having engaged in them to guard against a storm that seemed ready to break upon his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French. They were at length approved of by a majority of three hundred and eighteen against one hundred and twenty-six, in the House of Commons; and by eighty-four against eleven, in the House of Lords.

§ XXXIV. The House of Commons then proceeded to provide for the service of the ensuing year, and for the deficiencies of the provisions for the former. Fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, were voted, on the twenty-fourth of November, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, together with two millions six hundred thousand pounds for their maintenance, and thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land soldiers, with nine hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and three pounds, six shillings, and nine-pence, for their support. An hundred thousand pounds were voted as a subsidy to the Empress of Russia; fifty-four thousand one hundred and forty pounds, twelve shillings, and six-pence, to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and ten thousand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria.

§ XXXV.

§ XXXV. During these transactions, the publick was overwhelmed with consternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. When the news of this great calamity first reached England, it was feared the consequences of it might affect our publick credit, considering the vast interest which the English merchants had in the Portuguese trade: but fortunately, it afterwards proved inconsiderable, in comparison of what had been apprehended: the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, having suffered the least of any part of the city; and most of the English merchants then residing there, together with their families, being at their country-houses to avoid the insults to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their *auto-da-fe*, which was kept that very day. The two first shocks of this dreadful visitation continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute. Great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about thirty-six thousand, extending in length near six miles, in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill, upon the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with several magnificent churches, monasteries, and publick buildings. But what entirely completed the ruin of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous scene at that very instant passing before their eyes, with a wickedness scarcely to be credited, set fire even to the falling edifices in different

CHAP. IV. 1755.

BOOK III. 1755.

ferent parts of the city, to increase the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already desolated fellow-citizens. Out of three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which Lisbon was then supposed to contain, about ten thousand perished by this calamity; and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were forced to seek for shelter in the open fields.

§ XXXVI. As soon as his Majesty received an account of this deplorable event, from his Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, he sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, on the twenty-eight of November, acquainting them therewith, and desiring their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the Parliament thereupon, to the honour of British humanity, unanimously voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of an hundred thousand pounds for the distressed people of Portugal. A circumstance which enhances the merit of this action is, that though the English themselves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a considerable part of the sum was sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland: supplies which came very seasonably for the poor Portuguese, who were in actual want of the necessaries of life. Their King was so affected by this instance of British generosity, that, to shew his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered Mr. Castres, the British Resident at his Court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake: accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for that purpose; and his Portuguese Majesty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the British crown and nation.

§ XXXVII. The report of an intended invasion of these kingdoms by the French increasing daily,

on

on the twenty-second day of January Lord Barrington, as Secretary at War, laid before the House an estimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land soldiers before ordered to be raised; and a sum of ninety-one thousand nine hundred and nineteen pounds, ten shillings, was voted for these additional forces: upon another estimate presented a little after by the same Lord, and founded upon the same reasons, for raising, for the further defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, forty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-eight pounds, eleven shillings, and three pence, were voted for the ensuing year: together with eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, for a regiment of foot to be raised in North-America; two hundred and ninety-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-four pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence half-penny, for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies: and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds, six shillings, for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North-America and the East-Indies. Besides all these supplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, presented to the House a message from the King, desiring them to take into consideration the faithful services of the people of New-England, and of some other parts of North-America; upon which one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds more were voted, and five thousand pounds as a reward to Sir William Johnson in particular. In short, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy, as for a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds to the King of Prussia, and one hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and forty-seven pounds, two shillings, and six pence, for Hanoverian troops, of which two last articles further notice will be taken hereafter, the

CHAP. IV. 1755.

BOOK III. 1755.

whole of the supplies granted by Parliament in this session amounted to seven millions two hundred and twenty-nine thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds, four shillings and six pence three farthings. For raising this sum, besides the malt-tax, and the land-tax of four shillings in the pound, the whole produce of the sinking-fund, from the fifth of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, till it should amount to one million five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and eleven pence halfpenny was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with a million to be raised by loans or Exchequer-bills, at three per cent. interest: one million five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities at three and a half per cent. and five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by a lottery, at three per cent. All which sums, with eighty-three thousand four hundred and twelve pounds, two shillings, and five pence half penny, then remaining in the Exchequer, amounted to seven millions four hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence.

§ XXXVI. The clause inserted in the mutiny bill last year, subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments there, to the same rules, and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as the British forces were liable to; the act passed at the same time for regulating the marine forces, while on shore, and that for the most speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy, were not only confirmed now; but it was further enacted, with respect to this last, as well as for the more speedy and effectual recruiting of his Majesty's land forces, That the Commissioners appointed by the present act should be empowered to raise and levy within their respective jurisdictions, such able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment; or had

not some other lawful and sufficient support; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleased, a general search to be made for such persons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the parish or town officers might, without any such order, search for and secure such persons, in order to convey them before the said Commissioners to be examined; That if any three Commissioners should find any person, so brought before them, to be within the above description, and if the recruiting officer attending should judge him to be a man fit for his Majesty's service, they should cause him to be delivered to such officer, who might secure him in any place of safety provided by the Justices of Peace for that purpose, or even in any publick prison; and that every such man was from that time to be deemed a listed soldier, and not to be taken out of his Majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly show either the zeal of the Parliament for a vigorous prosecution of the war, or their confidence in the justice and moderation of our ministry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next session: and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprising administration, might have been made such an use of, as would have been inconsistent with that security which is provided by our happy constitution for the liberty of the subject.

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XXXIX. The next object of the immediate attention of Parliament in this session was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North-America; for which purpose the sum of eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings, to which the estimate thereof amounted, was voted. This regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of a thousand men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transported themselves

BOOK III. 1755.

in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them upon the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place. To this circumstance it is owing, that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue. However, as they were all zealous Protestants, and in general strong hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French: but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers; but as this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of Parliament, an act was now passed for enabling his Majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants, who had served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only. An act was likewise passed in this session strickly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his Majesty's subjects to serve as officers under the French King, or to inlist as soldiers in his service, without his Majesty's previous licence; and also for obliging such of his Majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting five hundred pounds.

§ XL. As it had been resolved, in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force upon

upon the lake Ontario, an act was now passed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his Majesty's ships and forces by sea, to such officers, seamen, and others, as should serve on board his Majesty's ships or vessels employed upon the lakes, great waters, or rivers in North-America: and also, but not without opposition to this last, for the better recruiting of his Majesty's forces upon the continent of America: to which end, by a new clause now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to inlist and detain an indented servant, even though his master should reclaim him, upon paying to the master such a sum as two Justices of Peace within the precinct should adjudge to be a reasonable equivalent for the original purchase-money, and the remaining time such servant might have to serve. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ XLI. The intestine broils of Ireland were happily composed this year, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington, Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. By his steady and disinterested conduct, his candour and humanity, the Irish were not only brought to much better temper, even among themselves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous dissensions happened; but also prevailed upon to acquiesce in the measures of England, without this last being obliged to give up any one point of her superiority. The leading men in the Parliament of Ireland were the first that conformed: and though the ferment continued very high for some time after, among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length entirely allayed by the wisdom of the Lord-Lieutenant, and the excellent law, which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of that nation*. The

* Among other objects of the attention of the legislature of the country; ten thousand pounds were granted for making the river Nore navigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Innestalge; twenty

BOOK III. 1755.

The P——— of Ireland, who had been very busy in fomenting many of the late disturbances, was, by his Majesty's command, struck off the list of Privy-Counsellors: and the greatest part of those patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were re-instated with honour.

§ XLII. The Parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of December, met again: the House of Commons on the thirteenth of

An. 1756. January, and the Lords on the nineteenth. On the sixteenth of the same month, the treaty between his Britannick Majesty and the King of Prussia was signed, importing, That, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve her peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being disturbed, on account of the disputes in America, the two Kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass through it during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted. Thus, the late treaty with Russia was virtually renounced. Their Majesties, moreover, seized this favourable opportunity to adjust the differences that had subsisted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Silesia loan, due to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and the indemnification

thousand pounds towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; four thousand pounds for making the river Newry navigable; a thousand pounds a year for two years, for the encouragement of English Protestant schools: several sums, to be distributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambrick, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and three hundred thousand pounds to his Majesty, towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the expences of the government for two years.

claimed

claimed by the subjects of his Prussian Majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attachment laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off, as soon as the ratification of this treaty should be exchanged.

§ XLIII. On the twenty-first of January the House took into consideration the laws then in being relating to the militia of this kingdom; and finding them insufficient, ordered a new bill to be prepared, and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England. A bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, and presented to the House on the twelfth of March by the Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq. who to his honour, was one of the chief promoters of it. After receiving many amendments in the House of Commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the Lords: but several objections being made to it by some of the Peers, and it seeming to them that some further amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was put upon the motion for passing the bill; though every one must have been sensible, not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation.

§ XLIV. On the twenty-seventh of May his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and, after having given the royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his Parliament, in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support. He acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of the Island of Minorca, though guaranteed to him by all the great powers in Europe, and particularly by the French King;

That

BOOK III. 1756.

That he had, therefore, found himself obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France; and that he relied on the Divine Protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause. The Parliament was then adjourned to the eighteenth of June; and from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July, and then it was prorogued.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Letter from M. Rouillé to the Secretary of State.* § II. *The two nations recriminate on each other.* § III. *The French threaten Great-Britain with an invasion.* § IV. *Requisition of six thousand Dutch troops according to treaty.* § V. *Message from the King to the Parliament.* § VI. *A body of Hessians and Hanoverians transported into England.* § VII. *French preparations at Toulon.* § VIII. *Admiral Byng sails for the Mediterranean.* § IX. *He arrives at Gibraltar.* § X. *Engages M. de la Galissonniere off Minorca.* § XI. *And returns to Gibraltar.* § XII. *Ferment of the people at home.* § XIII. *Admiral Byng superseded, and sent home prisoner.* § XIV. *Account of the siege of St. Philip' forts, in Minorca.* § XV. *Precautions taken by General Blakeney.* § XVI. *Siege commenced.* § XVII. *English squadron appears.* § XVIII. *General attack of the works.* § XIX. *The garrison capitulates.* § XX. *Sir Edward Hawke sails to Minorca.* § XXI. *Rejoicings in France, and clamours in England.* § XXII. *Gallantry of Fortunatus Wright.* § XXIII. *General Blakeney created a Baron.* § XXIV. *Measures taken for the defence of Great-Britain.* § XXV. *Proclamation.* § XXVI. *Earl of Loudoun appointed Commander in Chief in America.* § XXVII. *His Britannick Majesty's declaration of war.* § XXVIII. *Substance of the French King's declaration.* § XXIX. *Address of the City of London.* § XXX. *Trial of General Fowke.* § XXXI. *Affairs of America.* § XXXII. *Colonel Bradstreet defeats a body of French on the river Onondaga.* § XXXIII. *Earl of Loudoun arrives at New-York.* § XXXIV. *Oswego reduced by the enemy.* § XXXV. *Further proceedings in America.* § XXXVI. *Naval operations in that country* § XXXVII. *Transactions in the East-Indies.*

§ XXXVIII.

§ XXXVIII. *Calcutta besieged by the Viceroy of Bengal.* § XXXIX. *Deplorable fate of those who perished in the dungeon there.* § XL. *Additional cruelties exercised on Mr. Holwell.* § XLI. *Resolution against Angria.* § XLII. *Fort of Geria taken by Admiral Watson and Mr. Clive.* § XLIII. *Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.*

BOOK III. 1756.

§ I. IN the month of January Mr. Fox, lately appointed Secretary of State received a letter from M. Rouillé, Minister and Secretary of State for foreign affairs to the King of France, expostulating, in the name of his Sovereign, upon the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannick Majesty had given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth as well as in writing. He complained of the insult which had been offered to his Master's flag in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by committing depredations on the commerce of his most Christian Majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilized nations. He said, the sentiments and character of his Britannick Majesty gave the King his Master room to expect, that at his return to London he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty; but seeing that, instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most Christian Majesty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects. He, therefore, demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English

English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and merchandize. He declared that should this restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negociation for what further satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation; but if contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentick declaration of war, and as a formed design in the Court of London to disturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonstrance the British Secretary was directed to answer, That though the King of England would readily consent to an equitable and solid accommodation; he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full restitution as a preliminary condition; for his Majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of profound peace, and a proper regard for his own honour, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

CHAP. V. 1756.

§ II. Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded specious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other. The French Court, conscious of their encroachments in Nova-Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particulars belonging to a disputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English, without the least provocation. They likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral Powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view. It was certainly high time to check the insolence of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously exerted

BOOK III. 1756.

exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration; the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the war. The ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of pronouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the Powers of Europe would consider his most Christian Majesty as the aggressor, and Great-Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture. The aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candour in the midst of their hostilities. The merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to their right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrefy, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

§ III. The Court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great-Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in Christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigour.

They

They began to repair and fortify Dunkirk: orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of France: many English vessels were seized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison. At the same time an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the King would purchase the privateers at prime cost. They employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and assembling a strong body of land forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great-Britain with a dangerous invasion.

§ IV. The English people were seized with consternation: the ministry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the British Resident at the Hague, was ordered by his Majesty to make requisition of the six thousand men whom the States-General are obliged by treaty to furnish, when Great-Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in Febuary he presented a memorial for this purpose. Monsieur d'Affry, the French King's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of his demand, produced a counter-memorial from his Master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the States-General plainly to understand, that, should they grant the succours demanded by Great-Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war. Their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid.

They

BOOK III. 1756.

They foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality: they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and, perhaps, enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the States-General protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the Court of London perceived their intention, and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the King ordered his Resident to acquaint the Princess Regent, that he would not insist upon this demand. The States, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannick Majesty for having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thrown by his first demand and the counter-memorial of the French minister. The real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the States of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels; that the threatened invasion of Great-Britain did not affect the Republick's guarantee of the protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty; finally, that the succours demanded could be of no advantage to the King of England; as it appeared by the declaration of his Most Christian Majesty, that their granting these succours would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding, in their turn, assistance from Great-Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies,

allies, who must always, be furnished with the same excuse, whenever they find it convenient or necessary to their own interest. Such a consideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the British Legislature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connections, and provide such a constitutional force within itself, as will be fully sufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehensions and distraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of such a national force; but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of such a provision. Some of the warmest friends of their country proposed a well regulated militia, as an institution that would effectually answer the purpose of defending a wide extended sea-coast from invasion; while, on the other hand, this proposal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or useless by all the retainers to the Court, and all the officers of the standing army. In the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy.

§ V. Towards the latter end of March, the King sent a written message to Parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French Court to invade Great-Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, together with the language of the French ministers in some foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of such a design: that his Majesty had augmented his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence: that, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the

BOOK III. 1756.

late treaty to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared; that he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his Parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of his crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was no sooner received, than both Houses voted, composed, and presented very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his Majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops; a measure which at any other time would have been stigmatized with all the satire and rhetorick of the opposition.

§ VI. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the terrors of the people. In a few days Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the House of Commons, that another address should be presented to the King, beseeching his Majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his Electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom. There was a considerable party in the House to whom such a motion was odious and detestable: but considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion: they, therefore, moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put upon that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority, which also agreed to the other proposal. The resolution of the House was communicated to the Lords, who unanimously concurred;

curred; and their joint address being presented, his Majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request. Accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom.—As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain. They were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigour. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries. There were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided; and that the natives of South-Britain had been formerly subdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation. In a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people naturally blunt and jealous were inflamed to such a degree of animosity that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behaviour by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

CHAP. V. 1756.

§ VII. Under the cloke of an invading armament which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year, advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail for Toulon; this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy. They affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number

BOOK III. 1756.

number of transports; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiné and Provence in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. That great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of General Blakeney, Deputy Governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of absence, nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon that island*.

§ VIII.

* It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honour to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman who acted as engineer en second at Minorca; being preferred to a Majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted. His lady whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his children were dangerously ill of the small-pox. He recollected that the chief engineer of Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout,

§ VIII. At length, the destination of the enemy's fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and, like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service, vesting the command of them in Admiral Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalize his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy: but Mr. West, the second in command, was a gentleman universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition, were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship. They sailed from Spithead on the seventh day of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with Major-General Stuart, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca, about forty

gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortress. His zeal for the honour and service of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderness and of nature. He expended a considerable sum of money in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other necessaries for the garrison; hired a ship for transporting them thither; and tearing himself from his wife and children, thus left among strangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he should be in a peculiar manner exposed to all the dangers of a furious siege. In the course of this desperate service he acquitted himself with that vigilance, skill, and active courage, which he had on divers former occasions displayed, until the assault was given to the Queen's Bastion; when mixing with the enemy, sword in hand, he was disabled in his right arm by the shot of a musket and the thrust of a bayonet. His behaviour was so acceptable to his sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of Colonel in the Guards He afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and descents which were made on the French coast. Though grievously maimed, he accepted of the same office in the expedition to Guadaloupe, where he died universally regretted.

BOOK III. inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortress.

1756. § IX. After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's force and destination; for the instructions delivered to Admiral Byng imported, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should enquire whether any French squadron had passed through the straits; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North-America, he should immediately detach Rear-Admiral West to Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton, with such a number of ships, as when joined with those at Hallifax, would constitute a force superior to the armament of the enemy. On the second day of May, Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found Captain Edgecumbe, with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galissonniere, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of fifteen thousand land-forces, had sailed from Toulon on the tenth day of April, and made a descent upon the island of Minorca, from whence he (Captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach. General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the Secretary at War, with respect to his sparing a battalion of troops to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent or equivocal, a council of war was consulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops should be sent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of Captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his seamen and marines under the command of Captain Scroop, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. These articles of intelligence the Admiral

Admiral dispatched by an express to the Lords of the Admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitick expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island. He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries; that the careening-wharfs, pits, and store houses were entirely decayed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean. He signified his opinion, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitick to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore, a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar, as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the sally-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments. The first part of this letter was downright impeachment of the ministry, for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage. It cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment: and as they foresaw the

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III.

1756.

loss of Minorca, which would not fail to excite a national clamour, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct; for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behaviour afforded.

§ X. The Admiral being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his Majesty's ship the Phœnix, under the command of Captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron. When he approached Minorca, he descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's, and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters where the French banners were displayed. Thus informed, he detached three ships a-head, with Captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for General Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come to his assistance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the South-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle. About six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order: but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola. At day-light the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped, and the other being taken,

taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side, and about two o'clock Admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that Rear-Admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind, and closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory; but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping that station, Rear-Admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risque of seeing his communiation with the rest of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position; a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his Captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng,

CHAP. V.

1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying this disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. M. de la Galissonniere seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle; part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not choose to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy so expert in naval operation: he, therefore, took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited. The English Admiral gave chase; but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again; so they retired at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

§ XI. While he lay-to with the rest of his fleet, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including Captain Andrews, of the Defiance; and about one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety; a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the advantage

advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and, therefore, they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. They unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving General Blakeney, it is not easy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpose. Indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of his conduct: for it afterwards appeared, that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the sally-port, without running any great risque; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

§ XII. Mr. Byng's letter to the Admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made publick; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions, and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors. Whatever use might have been made of his letter while it remained a secret to the publick we shall not pretend to explain: but sure it is, that on the sixteenth day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the Admirals Byng and West, in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twenty-sixth day of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired. The populace took fire like a train of the most hasty combustibles, and broke out into such a clamour of rage and indignation against the devoted Admiral, as could not have

BOOK III. 1756.

have been exceeded if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion. This animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all publick assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross. They expatiated upon the insolence, the folly, the cowardice, and misconduct of the unhappy Admiral. They even presumed to make their Sovereign in some measure an instrument of their calumny, by suggesting, that his Majesty had prognosticated Byng's misbehaviour from the contents of his first letter, dated at Gibraltar. They ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to that fortress, after his scandalous rencounter with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery or want of resolution. In a word, he was devoted as the scapegoat of the ministry, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct, the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the Admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his person in all publick places of vulgar resort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

§ XIII. The two officers who succeeded to the command in the Mediterranean, were accompanied by Lord Tyrawley, whom his Majesty had appointed to supersede General Fowke in the government of Gibraltar, that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry, for not having understood

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an order which was unintelligible. By the same conveyance, a letter from the Secretary to the Admiralty was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire to vindicate his own conduct. His answer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misbehaved, intermixed with some puerile calculations of the enemy's superiority in weight of metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so impolitick as to hazard certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately dispatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest; and an order to the same purport was lodged at every port in the kingdom: precautions, which, however unnecessary to secure the person of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a publick trial, were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West, General Fowke, and several other officers of that garrison, who were also recalled, in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his Majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich-Hospital.

§ XIV. In the mean time, the siege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was prosecuted with unremitting vigour. The armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galissonniere, and the troops under the Duke de Richelieu, arrived

BOOK III. 1756.

on the eighteenth day of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces. Two days before they reached the island, General Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle. The fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labour. Upon the whole, this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander. All these advantages, however, did not occur on this occasion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these, above forty officers were absent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the General himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day-labourers, but, from their hatred to the Protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

§ XV. The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service. He recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces

pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn as soon as the enemy began to disembark their forces. At the same time Major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock. Here they made a lodgement close to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, masks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The General has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament, the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants, and the impossibility of execuing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless. Some houses and windmills were actually demolished, so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for gabions and traverses. Five-and-twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison. The ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the sentinels placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgecumbe, who then anchored in the harbour of Mahon, close under the walls of the castle, sailed away with his little squadron, consisting of the Chesterfield, Princess Louisa, Portland, and Dolphin,

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

Dolphin, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine sloop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of Captain Scroop, of the Dolphin, who, with great gallantry, offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signalized himself during the whole siege. The French Admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbour in such a manner, as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant vessels, which happened then to be at Mahon: but, in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency, or assault; their crews and officers would have considerably reinforced. The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakness of the garrison, from which circumstance they derived the most sanguine hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege. After Mr. Edgecumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and General Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sunk in the channel that leads to the harbour, the French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell to leeward of Cape Mola. Next day they came in sight again, but soon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

§ XVI. On the twenty-second day of April, the Governor sent a drummer to the French General with a letter, desiring to know his reasons for invading the island. To this an answer was returned by the Duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his Most Christian Majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had seized and detained the ships belonging to the King of France

and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers: for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the harbour, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form. On the twelfth of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up on both sides, from mortars and cannon, the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

§ XVII. On the seventeenth day of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by Admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat, with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage. A circumstance which plainly confutes the notion of

Mr.

BOOK III. 1756.

Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip's. Next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbour of Mahon. That same evening they were told by a deserter that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Galissonniere; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or *feu de joie*, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war to his Britannick Majesty. The case was now much altered in their favour: their squadron cruised about the island without molestation: and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

§ XVIII. The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief. In the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution: they repaired breaches, restored merons, and laboured with surprising

prising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musketry, which fired upon them, without ceasing, from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plied incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms: nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot. By the twenty-seventh day of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land side. At the same time a strong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrated into the creek, called St. Stephen's Cove, to storm Fort Charles, and second the attack upon Fort Marlborough, on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the Duke de Richelieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person. Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter; they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape shot and musketry: and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the glacis was almost covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution; and though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their success in this quarter was owing to

CHAP. V. 1756.

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BOOK III. 1756.

the weakness of the place, or the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison: for Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffries, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post, was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity: he was run through the arm with a bayonet, and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the Governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled.

§ XIX. The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the Queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been dislodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose, before they had leisure to secure themselves, the Duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead, and remove the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion, inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcemen of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines which communicated with all the other outworks. During this short cessation, General Blakeney summoned a council of war to deliberate upon the state of the fort and garrison; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished,

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the pallisadoes broke in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications. Besides, the Governor had received information from prisoners, that the Duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the Marshal Duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation. But this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: that the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscape should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fossé, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not return, it was the duty of the Governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made. This it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French General was said to have lost five thousand men in

BOOK III. 1756.

the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of three thousand men, did not exceed one hundred. The capitulation imported, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt: but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh day of July, when they embarked. In the mean time reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

§ XX. The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed, than Monsieur de la Galissonniere sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbour of Mahon; since the fort of St. Philip was first invested. In all probability, the safety of himself and his whole squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat: for in a few days after the surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England, when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island: but by this time Galissonniere was retired, and the English Admiral had the mortification to see the French colours flying upon St. Philip's castle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruise round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron: but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the Duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery as no fortification could long withstand. Indeed, if the garrison had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might

might have been made, that their assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprize. CHAP. V.

§ XXI. When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles, by the Count of Egmont, whom the Duke de Richelieu had dispatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy. Nothing was seen but triumphs and processions: nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph, for an advantage, which, in more vigorous times, would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*. Nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great-Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause, and contemptuous comparison. This must be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance, and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England, as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited an universal clamour of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron; but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca. Nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that in case the arms of Great-Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the 1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

French King might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the Sovereign's councils.

§ XXII. Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering La Galissonniere, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian Government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the Captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war, to insist, in a peremptory manner, on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and Captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the Court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the Admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed upon their boasted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, Commander of the St. George privateer, of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebeque, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose for station in view

view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute, in which the Captain, Lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalised himself by many other exploits, had he not, in the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

§ XXIII. Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay, for the protection of our commerce, which, in those parts, soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth, in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed, celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations: every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the castle of St. Philip. In a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion: of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-

interest

BOOK III. 1756.

interest and deceit. The Sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the s——t: Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish Baron, in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favour, as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

§ XXIV. In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the Government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard-ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A considerable number of new troops was levied; the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the land-holders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependents to engage in the service; but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of labourers to such distress, that some insurrections were raised, and many inlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn. New ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people. Notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo upon all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections: so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were

publickly offered to those who should discover where any seamen lay concealed: so that those unhappy people were in some respects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connections to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expence of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favour of their ungrateful country*. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXV. About eighty ships of the line and threescore frigates were already equipped, and considerable bodies of land-forces assembled, when, on the third day of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers, civil and military, upon the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land upon the coasts of the kingdom, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, or cattle, which might be fit for draught or burthen, and not actually employed in the King's service, or in the defence of the country, and also (so far as might be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made, and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt: regard being had, however, that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the publick safety.

§ XXVI. As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North-America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impression could be

* At this juncture, a number of publick-spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves in a very laudable association under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy. In consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the bane and reproach, without this humane interposition.

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BOOK III.

1756.

made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither, under the conduct of General Abercrombie, appointed as successor to General Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the Earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Over and above this command, he was now appointed Governor of Virginia, and Colonel of a Royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set sail for America in March; but the Earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a Viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

§ XXVII. All these previous measures being taken, his Majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war* against

* When the French Ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately dispatched to the English Governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put, without delay, matters on the same footing in which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commissaries at Paris. The British Court agreed to the cessation of hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draft of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal. At length the Ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great-Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that discharge themselves

against the French King, importing, that, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the usurpations and encroachments made upon the British territories, in America, had been notorious: That his Britannick Majesty had, in divers serious representations to the Court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French King, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West-Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: That the unjustifiable practices of the French Governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility

themselves into that river: cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the river of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova-Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; but this was amply refuted in another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at this very opening of the commission established at Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North-America, the French invaded Nova-Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax, had they not been prevented: That the like hostilities were committed upon his Britannick Majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the Governors appointed by the French King, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading; seized their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France; invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier, and to secure their usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded: that his Britannick Majesty had complained of these hostilities to the Court of Versailles, but without effect; so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful, or irreconcileable with the assurance of his Majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motives of self-defence had forced him to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that Court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

in

BOOK III. 1756.

in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French King's commission, attacked in an hostile manner, and took possession of an English fort on the river Ohio, in North-America: That great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for that country: That although the French Ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate those differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse and gain time for the passage of these supplies and re-inforcements, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution: That in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the King of Great-Britain for preventing the success of such a dangerous design, the French Ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea-coasts of France, and the British dominions threatened with an invasion: That though the King of England, in order to frustrate such intentions, had given orders for seizing at sea the ships of the French King and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation; but it being at last evident from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the Court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmost violence, his Britannick Majesty could no longer, consistently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which from a desire of peace he had hitherto

hitherto observed. A denunciation of war followed in the usual form, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great-Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXVIII. In the beginning of June the French King declared war in his turn against his Britannick Majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon asperity. He artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negociations by which it had been preceded. He insisted on the attack made by the King of England, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, on the French possessions in North-America: and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed to the most rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed upon the French Ambassador with false protestations, others diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America: That while the Court of London employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidies of England, to instigate other powers against France, his Most Christian Majesty did not even ask of these powers the succours which guarantees and defensive treaties autho-

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BOOK III. 1756.

rised him to demand: but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: That while the English navy, by the most odious violences, and sometimes by the vilest artifices, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full security under the safeguard of publick faith, his Most Christian Majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron; and British vessels traded to the ports of France without molestation: That the striking contrast formed by these different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition, and avarice, and that the conduct of the other, was founded on principles of honour, justice, and moderation: That the vague imputations contained in the King of England's declaration, had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were set forth would prove their futility and falsehood: That the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempt to deceive mankind into a belief that these were the points which determined the King of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron; and depredations had been committed six months upon the subjects of France before the first battalions began their march for the sea side. In a word, the Most Christian King, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people value themselves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother Monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge conveyed in such reproachful terms, against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations,

and at the same time conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry. For after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insolence and encroachments. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXIX. Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great-Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe. They chearfully contributed to the expence of armaments*, and seemed to approve of their destination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of Braddock, and the loss of Minorca. The last event made a deep impression upon the minds of the community. An address was presented to the King by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry. They expressed their apprehension that the loss of the important fortress of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great-Britain, without any attempt by timely and effectual succours to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his Majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British

* Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ships and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, exposed to publick sale, and their produce lodged in the Bank; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large sum, was distributed or employed, we have not been able to discover.

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BOOK III. 1756.

nation. They expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They lamented the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever. They signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected, and brought to condign punishment: that his Majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies so necessarily demanded, and so chearfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies, the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace. In answer to this address the King assured them, that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to inforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for enquiry and justice.

§ XXX. The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate General Fowke, who had been Deputy-Governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office, till that period, when he fell under the displeasure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the Secretary at War,

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in three successive letters*, touching the relief of Minorca. Mr. Fowke alleged in his own defence that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power: that the whole number of his garrison did not exceed two thousand six hundred men, after he had spared two hundred

CHAP. V. 1756.

* *To Lieut. Gen.* Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison at* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, March 21, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you receive into your garrison Lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt upon his Majesty's island of Minorca, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major; such Lieutenant-Colonel and Major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the Admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am,

Your humble servant, B.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief at* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, March 26, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the disposition of the Admiral, such Lieutenant-Colonel and Major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison in* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, April 1, 1756.

It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to Lord Robert Birtie's regiment.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, the Commander in Chief at* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, May 12, 1756.

I wrote to you by General Steward: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of seven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachmen out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on boar the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been com

plie

BOOK III. 1756. dred and seventy-five to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe: that the ordinary duty of the garrison requiring eight hundred men, the whole number was not sufficient for three reliefs: that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which he did not think himself at liberty to mention; that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between thirteen and sixteen thousand men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbour, the sending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent. He observed, that supposing the orders to have been positive, and seven hundred men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded one thousand five hundred and fifty-six: a deduction of seven hundred more, according to the order of May the twelfth, would have left a remainder of eight hundred and fifty-six: that the men daily on duty in the garrison, including artificers and labourers in the King's works, amounted to eight hundred and thirty-nine; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men over and above the number

plied with, then you are to make only one detachment of seven hundred men, to be commanded by another Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbour, and to keep them in readiness for any further transportation of troops. I have also his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's commands, to desire that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible, during this critical time, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

necessary

necessary for the daily work of the garrison: thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been almost left naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent abroad, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to General Fowke to detain all empty vessels, for a further transportation of troops, seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison and abandon the place. It seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the General to keep the garrison as alert as possible, during that critical time; inasmuch at it would have been impossible for the men to have enjoyed the least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other assistance it might have been in the Governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not easy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his Majesty thought fit to dismiss from his service.

§ XXXI. The expectation of the publick was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief, if not the sole scene of our military operations. On the twenty-fifth day of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New-York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported from England, four independent companies which had been many years

BOOK III. 1756.

maintained in New-York; the New-Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New-England. Those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontiers from the French and Indians, who, in skulking parties, made sudden irruptions upon their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacreing with the most savage inhumanity. As for South Carolina, the proportion of negro-slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprize. The plan of this undertaking had been settled in the preceeding year in a council of war, held at New-York. There it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut of the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio: to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, so that the frontier of New-York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great-Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt: to besiege Fort Du Quesne upon the Ohio: and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared: the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England, the different colonies were divided in their opinions, and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, who was daily expected. The reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend

pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost, by the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year, afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack, and, in the mean time, to proceed unmolested in distressing the British settlements. Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great-Britain had long numbered among her allies. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXXII. Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores for the garrison of Oswego, would in a little time set out for Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valour of Colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly. On the third day of July, while he stemmed the stream of the river, with his batteaux formed into three divisions, they were saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musquetry from the north shore. Bradstreet, immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed. Another body having passed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of two hundred men, and fell upon them, sword in hand, with such vigour, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the

BOOK III. 1756.

river with such precipitation, that a considerable number of them were drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were entirely routed and dispersed. In this action, which lasted near three hours, about seventy of the batteau men were killed or wounded, but the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners. In all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to seven hundred men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interposed, and disabled Colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by Captain Patten with his grenadiers in his march from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning reinforced with two hundred men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego; but by this time the rivulets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets. Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to General Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements to besiege the fort of Oswego.

§ XXXIII. In consequence of this information, Major-General Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison: but, before they could be provided with necessaries, the Earl of Loudoun arrived at the head-quarters at Albany, on the twenty-ninth day of July. The army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of two thousand six hundred, about seven thousand provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort-

Fort-William-Henry, under the command of General Winslow, over and above a considerable number of batteau-men at Albany and Schenectady. The garrison at Oswego amounted to fourteen hundred soldiers, besides three hundred workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and place called Burnet's Field, to secure a passage through the country of the Six Nations, upon whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about three thousand men at Crown-point and Ticonderoga upon the lake Champlain: but their chief strength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpose undoubtedly was to reduce the English fort at Oswego. The immediate object, therefore, of Lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his design was strenuously opposed by the province of New-York, and other northern governments, who were much more intent upon the reduction of Crown-Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest. They insisted upon Winslow's being joined by some regiments of regular troops before he should march against this fortress; and stipulated that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprize, and be defeated. At length they agreed, that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had destined for that purpose should be detached for the relief of Oswego; and on the twelfth day of August Major-General Webb began his march with it from Albany; but on his arrival at the Carrying-place, between the Mohock's river and Wood's creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the besieging army, began immediately to render the creek

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

creek impassable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a like visitation from him, took the very same method of prevening his approach: in consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

§ XXXIV. The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune. They were erected on the south side of the great lake Ontario, standing on the opposite sides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that discharges itself into the lake, and constituted a post of great importance, where vessels had been built, to cruize upon the lake, which is a kind of inland sea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and designs of the enemy. The garrison, as we have already observed, consisted of fourteen hundred men, chiefly militia and new-raised recruits, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience; but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived, and unfinished: and, in a word, the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce. Being under no apprehension for Crown-Point, they assembled a body of troops, consisting of thirteen hundred regulars, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New-France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succour and intelligence.

gence. In the mean time, he embarked his artillery and stores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous. At another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels; and on the twelfth day of August, at midnight, after his dispositions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort-Ontario. The garrison having fired away all their shells and ammunition, spiked up the cannon, and deserting the fort, retired next day across the river into Oswego, which was even more exposed than the other, especially when the enemy had taken possession of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermission. Colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon ball, the fort destitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrison in confusion, the next day demanded a capitulation, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. These conditions, however, the Marquis did not punctually observe. The British officers and soldiers were insulted by the savage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, massacred several men as they stood defenceless on the parade, assassinated Lieutenant De la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarously scalped all the sick people in the hospital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege; and, in all probability, these miserable captives were put to death by those barbarians with the most excruciating tortures, according to the execrable custom of the country. Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature shudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. famous to all posterity. Such, however, were the trophies that, in the course of the American war, distinguished the operations of a people, who pique themselves upon politeness, and the virtues of humanity. The prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in batteaux to Montreal, where they had no reason to complain of their reception; and before the end of the year, they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts (if they deserved that denomination) in which they found one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops, and two hundred batteaux, which likewise fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and miconduct.

1756.

§ XXXV. The Earl of Loudoun finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprize against the enemy, exerted all his endeavours in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming an uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests, and other sources of dissension. Meanwhile, the forts Edward and William-Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons; and the forces put into winter-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose. Fort-Granvilla, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable block-house, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two-and-twenty soldiers, with a few women and children. These they loaded with flour and provisions, and drove them into captivity; but the fort they

reduced

reduced to ashes. Many shocking murders were perpetrated upon defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers; but these outrages were in some measure balanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the Governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell upon the river Sasquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province. At the same time the Governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbas, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring three thousand fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great-Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America, especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores, were sent to that country in fourteen transports, under convoy of two ships of war, which sailed from Cork, in Ireland, about the beginning of November.

CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXXVI. No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America. In the beginning of June, Captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape-Breton, took the Arc en Ciel, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near six hundred men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison. He likewise made prize of another French ship, with seventy soldiers, two hundred barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. On the twenty-seventh day of July, Commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute. A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West-India islands belonging to the

BOOK III. 1756.

Crown of Great-Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruisers proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

§ XXXVII. Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East-Indies. The cessation of hostilities between the English and French Companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the Princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Lawrence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English force, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigour, as, in all probability, would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish, when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained: for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

§ XXXVIII. The old Suba or Viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, dying in the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability, his design against the English settlements was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous. In the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzzar to be invested, and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then,

then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence.

§ XXXIX. The Governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. Then he was obliged to submit; and the Suba, or Viceroy, promised on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black Hole Prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty. Transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavoured to force open the door,

BOOK III. 1756.

door, that they might rush upon the swords of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded; but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once shut upon them, the crowd pressed upon it so strongly as to render all their endeavours abortive: then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a Jemmautdaar, or serjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compassion, by drawing a pathetick picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment. The soldier, allured by the promise of such a reward, assured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpose; but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the Suba, by whose orders alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. By this time a profuse sweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture. In vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing undulation. Many were unable to rise again from this posture, but falling down were trod to death, or suffocated. The dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath. Their despair became outrageous: again they attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execration and abuse. The cry of "Water! Water!" issued from every mouth. Even the Jemmautdaar was moved to compassion at their distress. He ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enrage the appetite, and increase the general

general agitation. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who at sight of it struggled and raved even in fits of delirium. In consequence of these contests, very little reached those who stood nearest the windows, while the rest, at the farther end of the prison; were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender cries of pity and affection. To those who were indulged, it proved pernicious: for, instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more. The confusion became general and horrid: all was clamour and contest; those who were at a distance endeavoured to force their passage to the window, and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again. The inhuman ruffians without, derived entertainment from their misery: they supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell seeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character: they forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded so much, because, by this time, about one-third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and laying down upon

some

BOOK III. 1756.

some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to heaven. Here his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty in breathing increased, and he was seized with a strong palpitation. These violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, "Water! for God's sake!" He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions, but finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person: "Give him water," they cried; nor would any of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceased: but finding himself still more thirsty after drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time, by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeve*. The miserable prisoners, perceiving the water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, loading the Suba and his Governor with the most virulent reproach. From railing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching heaven to put an end to their misery. They now began to drop on all hands; but then a steam arose from the living and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the Rev. Mr. Jervis Bellamy, who, together with his son, a Lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace. In this situation he was soon deprived of sense, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke, when his body was discovered, and removed by his surviving friends to one of the windows, where the

* In his despair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine, but found it intolerably bitter; whereas the moisture that flowed from the pores of his body was soft, pleasant and refreshing.

fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The Suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, inquired if the chief was alive; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive.

§ XL. Nor was the late deliverance, even of these few, owing to any sentiment of compassion in the Viceroy. He had received intimation that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman Suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit. Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles from the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain: next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he peruse the particulars. At Muxadavad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length, the Suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf; and as that Prince was by this time convinced that there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered

BOOK III. 1756. ordered them to be set at liberty. When some of his sycophants opposed the indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied with some marks of compunction and generosity, "If he has any "thing left, let him keep it; his sufferings have "been great: he shall have his liberty." Mr. Holwell and his friends were no sooner unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch Tanksall or mint, in the neighbourhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularised a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The Suba having destroyed Calcutta, and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his oppression, and returned to his city of Muxadavad in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East-India Company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprises were always crowned with success.

§ XLI. As the English East-India Company had, for a whole century, been at a considerable expence in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent Princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighbourhood; many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce, the fortress, under which they always took shelter. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning Prince, attacked three Dutch ships of force, which they either took or destroyed. Elated with this success, he boasted that he should in a little time sweep the seas of the Europeans, and

began

began to build some large ships, to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the vessels on which he had formerly depended. Next year his neighbours the Mahrattas, having signified to the presidency at Bombay, that they were disposed to join in the necessary service of humbling this common enemy so formidable to the whole Malabar coast, Commodore James was detached with some ships of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with those allies. They accordingly joined him with seven grabs and sixty gallivats. They proceeded to the harbour of Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor: but they no sooner received intelligence of his approach than they slipped their cables, and stood out to sea. He chased them with all the canvass he could carry; but their vessels being lighter than his, they escaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortress situated on an island within musket-shot of the main land, strongly, but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon. There were three other small forts on the continent, the largest of which was called Goa. On the second day of April, the Commodore began to batter and bombard the island, fort, and fort Goa, at the same time. That of Severndroog was set on fire; one of the magazines blew up; a general conflagration ensued; the garrisons were overwhelmed with fire and confusion; the English seamen landed under cover of the fire from the ships, and took the place by storm with very little loss. The other forts were immediately surrendered, and all of these, by treaty, delivered to the Mahrattas. On the eighth of April, the Commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the most northern parts of Angria's dominion, which surrendered without opposition, and still remains in the hands of the English East-India Company, by the consent of the Mahrattas. The harbour is good, and here is

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. a great trade for salt and other commodities sent hither from Bombay.

1756. § XLII. It was in November following, that the squadron under Admiral Watson arrived at Bombay, where it was resolved to give Angria the finishing stroke, still in conjunction with the Mahrattas. Meanwhile Commodore James was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to sound the depth of the harbour; a service which he successfully performed. The Admiral being joined by a division of ships, fitted out at the Company's expense, having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel Clive, sailed on the seventh day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, consisting of four grabs, and forty smaller vessels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horse and foot amounting to seven or eight thousand men, the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah. Angria himself had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender by a message from the Admiral, replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity. In consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet, in two divisions, sailed on the twelfth day of February into the harbour, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed, as well as from the grabs posted in the harbour for that purpose; this, however, was soon silenced after the ships were brought to their stations, so as to return the salutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire; and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed; between six and seven the fort was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased

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on both sides. The Admiral, suspecting that the Governor of the place would surrender it to the Mahrattas rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in case of emergency, to take possession. In the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the Admiral sent an officer, with a flag of truce to the Governor, requiring him to surrender. His proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that ensued proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five; when the white flag was again displayed, and now the Governor submitted to the terms which were imposed. Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English Captains, taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign. To these Captains, whose names were Buchannan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of fifty thousand rupees, if they would allow them to pass their guards, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to Colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place, which was reduced with very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above two hundred cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. The fleet which was destroyed consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two upon the stocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the prisoners, the Admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himself with great humanity. Three hundred

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

European soldiers, and as many sepoys, were left to guard the fort; and four of the Company's armed vessels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce *.

§ XLIII. The Admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the Company's affairs upon the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel Viceroy of Bengal. In October they set sail again for the bottom of the Bay; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. Having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found Governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested. Colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the Admiral battered it by sea; but the place being ill-provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being atchieved at a very easy purchase, two of the greatest ships anchored between Tanny fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

* When the Admiral entered their apartment, the whole family shedding floods of tears, fell with their faces to the ground; from which being raised, the mother of Angria told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father. The Admiral replying, "they must look upon him as their father and their friend;" the youngest boy, about six years of age, seized him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, "Then you shall be my father." Mr. Watson was so effected with this pathetick address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend upon his protection and friendship.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

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